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Security Council

Fiftieth Year

Provisional

3542nd Meeting

Friday, 9 June 1995, 11.45 a.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Graf zu Rantzau	(Germany)
Members:	Argentina	Ms. Cañas
	Botswana	Mr. Nkgowe
	China	Mr. Qin Huasun
	Czech Republic	Mr. Rovensky
	France	Mr. Mérimée
	Honduras	Mr. Rendón Barnica
	Indonesia	Mr. Wisnumurti
	Italy	Mr. Fulci
	Nigeria	Mr. Ayewah
	Oman	Mr. Al-Sameen
	Russian Federation	Mr. Lavrov
	Rwanda	Mr. Bakuramutsa
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Gomersall
	United States of America	Mrs. Albright

Agenda

The situation concerning Rwanda

Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (S/1995/457)

95-85531 (E)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one week of the date of publication*, to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Section, room C-178.

The meeting was called to order at 11.45 a.m.

Expression of thanks to the retiring President

The President: As this is the first meeting of the Security Council for the month of June, I should like to take this opportunity to pay tribute, on behalf of the Council, to His Excellency Mr. Jean-Bernard Mérimée, Permanent Representative of France to the United Nations, for his service as President of the Security Council for the month of May. I am sure I speak for all members of the Security Council in expressing deep appreciation to Ambassador Mérimée for the great diplomatic skill with which he conducted the Council's business last month.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation concerning Rwanda

Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (S/1995/457)

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Zaire in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Lukabu Khabouji N'Zaji (Zaire) took the place reserved for him at the side of the Council Chamber.

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda, document S/1995/457.

Members of the Council also have before them document S/1995/465, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to the following revisions to be made to the text of the draft resolution contained in document S/1995/465 in its provisional form:

in subparagraph (d) of operative paragraph 3, all the words following the words "police force" should be deleted so that subparagraph (d) will read as follows:

"Assist in the training of a national police force;"

in operative paragraph 5 the word "such" should be inserted between the word "that" and the word "arms" in the penultimate line of the English version of the draft resolution;

in operative paragraph 6 the word "related" at the end of the third line from the bottom in the English version of the draft resolution should be deleted, and the words "to Rwanda" in the penultimate line of the English version of the text should be replaced by the words "referred to above";

in operative paragraph 7 the word "or" in the penultimate line of the English version of the draft resolution should be replaced by the word "and", and the following words should be added at the end of the paragraph:

"concluded to replace that Agreement in order to facilitate the implementation of the new mandate;".

I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to document S/1995/411, which contains the text of a letter dated 19 May 1995 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council.

The first speaker is the representative of Zaire. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Lukabu Khabouji N'Zaji (Zaire) (*interpretation from French*): It is an honour for my delegation to be the first to address the Security Council under your presidency, Sir. I wish to take this opportunity to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of June and also to congratulate the Ambassador and Permanent Representative of France on his outstanding presidency last month.

Zaire welcomes the draft resolution the Council is considering for adoption and believes that the extension of the mandate of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) is a positive step that will contribute to helping Rwanda emerge from the quagmire in which it is sunk. Zaire welcomes the adjustment of UNAMIR's mandate and hopes that UNAMIR will bring all its weight to bear so that the objectives enumerated in paragraph 3 of the draft resolution are accomplished.

My country fervently hopes that the provisions of subparagraph (a) of paragraph 3, which calls on UNAMIR to

> "Exercise its good offices to help achieve national reconciliation within the frame of reference of the Arusha Peace Agreement",

will be speedily implemented.

Furthermore, the Government of the Republic of Zaire hopes the objective outlined in subparagraph (b) of paragraph 3 will be met. That subparagraph states that UNAMIR will

> "Assist the Government of Rwanda in facilitating the voluntary and safe return of refugees and their reintegration in their home communities, and, to that end, ... support the Government of Rwanda in its ongoing efforts to promote a climate of confidence and trust through the performance of monitoring tasks throughout the country with military and police observers".

These measures should be accompanied by a specific timetable for the speedy repatriation of those refugees still in camps in Zaire. My country, which has borne the greatest burden of the Rwandan crisis can do no more. My Government appeals to the international community to help Rwanda to take back the half of its population now in our territory. It is not normal for any Government to claim the participation of all its people when half its population is living in confinement in camps. The Kigali authorities must get down to creating conditions that will make possible the speedy return of refugees to their homes.

Paragraph 6 of the draft resolution

> "*Requests* the Secretary-General to consult the Governments of neighbouring countries on the possibility of the deployment of United Nations military observers ... in order to monitor the sale or supply of arms and matériel referred to above".

On behalf of the Government of Zaire, I wish to inform the Council that Zaire is not an arms producer, much less an arms merchant.

Explicit reference is made to my Government. We thank the Council for its acknowledgement of the burden the Rwandan tragedy has placed on my country.

In order to put an end to the fantastic accusations often levelled at my country, I should like to reiterate publicly the request made by the Republic of Zaire's Foreign Minister at the Bujumbura meeting for the creation of an independent commission of inquiry to establish the truth about alleged arms transfers across Zaire's borders. Zaire is astounded at the Council's short-sightedness and wishes to remind it that the international community would benefit if it were provided with all the information relating to the countries from which those weapons — if any — come. The Government of the Republic of Zaire commits itself to participating actively in the consultations that are to be conducted with the Secretary-General and in due time will state its views on how the observers should be deployed along the border.

I should like to conclude by appealing for the question of a specific timetable for the repatriation of the refugees to be discussed by the Council when the question of Rwanda is next studied, i.e., one month from now, as stipulated in the draft resolution before the Council now.

The President: I thank the representative of Zaire for the kind words he addressed to me.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it, as orally revised in its provisional form. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I shall first call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements before the voting.

Mr. Ayewah (Nigeria): Mr. President, permit me at the outset to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency for this month. We are already witness to the efficient and competent manner in which you are directing the affairs of our Council. Let me also seize this opportunity to express my delegation's appreciation to Ambassador Jean-Bernard Mérimée, the Permanent Representative of France, for the able manner in which he presided over the Council's affairs in the month of May.

My delegation wishes to thank the Secretary-General for a very comprehensive report on the situation in Rwanda, on the efforts of the international community and, in particular, on those of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) in assisting the Government and people of Rwanda in the task of national reconciliation, reconstruction and rehabilitation with which they have been faced since the tragic events of last year.

In the political field, one must commend the efforts of the Government in restoring a climate of relative stability in the country. The commitment of the Government to national reconciliation is demonstrated, in our view, by its continued adherence to the relevant elements of the Arusha Accord. It is our duty as members of the international community to assist in this process. My delegation, however, notes with concern the observations made by the Secretary-General in his report about some negative developments that have stalled the process of national reconciliation. These include grossly overcrowded prisons, the lack of an effective judicial system, arbitrary arrests and tension over property rights. There has also been a virtual halt to the return of refugees and internally displaced persons to their home communities. The most acute problem, however, is the militarization of certain camps outside Rwanda and the arms build-up within them, coupled with the related phenomenon of cross-border armed infiltration from those camps into Rwanda. These have all combined to make a tenuous security situation even more grim.

Unfortunately, there has also been increasing agitation against the international community in general and the United Nations in particular for what is perceived by some in Rwanda — perhaps with some justification — as the abandonment of Rwanda in its time of greatest need during the genocide of last year and the subsequent inability of the international community to deliver on its promises to help the Government stand on its feet.

Nevertheless, there is no doubt that the presence of UNAMIR has helped contribute to an atmosphere of security and confidence throughout the country. The efforts of the international community continue to be crucial in the process of rebuilding Rwanda. That is why my delegation has expressed its disquiet about the reported open hostility that has been shown to UNAMIR's personnel in recent months. We believe that it is the responsibility of the Government of Rwanda to address this problem effectively.

The Security Council must in turn address the serious issues of the militarization of the camps, the arms build-up and cross-border infiltration.

I believe that the urgency of the problem was well emphasized by the Secretary-General's Special Representative in his briefing to the Security Council. In this context, we view the measures spelled out in paragraphs 4, 5 and 6 of the draft resolution as a first step. After we have received the report of the Secretary-General, within the next 30 days, we believe that we may have to come back to the matter and proffer more drastic measures for solving the problem — a problem which, if not seriously and promptly addressed, could soon lead to an explosive situation that could engulf not only Rwanda but also some of the neighbouring countries.

In the area of reconstruction and rehabilitation, one cannot fail to note how the lack of resources and the absence of the requisite infrastructure have hampered the efforts of the Government. If we are to secure the peace in Rwanda — which at the moment is tenuous — we have to find ways and means of addressing this problem. As my delegation has stated on a number of occasions, it is no use asking the Government to create favourable conditions for the return of refugees if it does not have the means to do so. In this context, we repeat our appeal to members of the international community to assist the Government with financial resources. This is a situation where we feel some conditionalities may have to be waived, at least temporarily, to enable the Government to obtain this financial assistance in a timely fashion. We therefore welcome the call in the seventh preambular paragraph of the draft resolution for the accelerated disbursement of international assistance.

National reconciliation, as my delegation has stressed on several occasions, remains essential to the process of national healing in Rwanda. In this context, justice is a key element, and the International Tribunal — which has already begun to investigate cases — needs all

the support it can get from the international community to achieve its goal. The national justice system also needs to be revived, urgently.

With regard to the mandate of UNAMIR, we agree with the recommendation that there is a need for an adjustment in the mandate to take into account the changed circumstances on the ground. There appears to be agreement by all concerned that, in the light of the current situation in Rwanda, the assistance of the United Nations through UNAMIR should be focused on activities aimed at building and consolidating an atmosphere of confidence and trust among all Rwandese. In this regard, we note with satisfaction that an understanding has been reached between the Government of Rwanda and the United Nations on the appropriate force level that could carry out these tasks. The new force level, in our view, responds to the legitimate concern of a sovereign State to take charge of its own destiny, while taking cognizance of the imperatives of effective implementation of an agreed mandate. Recent experience has shown that providing our men in the field with less than adequate resources would be counterproductive with regard to attaining our desired objectives.

In view of what I have said, my delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution and support the extension of UNAMIR's mandate to 8 December 1995.

Finally, let me express our appreciation to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for the excellent work he is doing in Rwanda and to all UNAMIR personnel for their service to the cause of peace and national reconciliation in Rwanda.

The President: I thank the representative of Nigeria for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. Wisnumurti (Indonesia): It is with great pleasure that my delegation expresses its congratulations to you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of June. Allow me also to express our appreciation to Ambassador Mérimée of France for his skilful leadership during the month of May, when he presided over the Council's activities.

Regarding the extension of the mandate of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR), my delegation is cognizant of the significant role UNAMIR has played in contributing to the prevailing stable condition in Rwanda, which I believe will substantially contribute to the process of national reconciliation, rehabilitation and economic reconstruction. It is therefore imperative for the Government of Rwanda to maintain such favourable conditions in order for a just and durable peace to be achieved.

My delegation is particularly encouraged that the Government of Rwanda is taking the primary responsibility in providing security to its citizens, which is a fundamental task for a sovereign State. It was in this connection that my delegation fully supported the request made by the Government of Rwanda substantially to reduce the military component of UNAMIR. This reduction not only symbolizes the restoration of the sovereignty and dignity of the Government of Rwanda, but also reflects the reality in the field. My delegation therefore welcomes the agreement reached by the Government of Rwanda and the United Nations to reduce the force level to 2,330 troops within three months of the adoption of this draft resolution and to 1,800 troops within four months.

It is the considered view of my delegation that efforts to enhance the security situation in Rwanda are indeed indispensable for a climate of stability and trust to prevail, which would positively affect the flow of returning refugees. We are, however, aware that all these undertakings should be based on genuine national reconciliation among the various elements of Rwandan society.

Nevertheless, these efforts will not bring about the desired results if the supply of arms and matériel to elements of the previous Government continue unabated, with the ensuing consequence of cross-border militarization. In our view, addressing in a comprehensive manner this particular problem, which is one of the major concerns of the Government of Rwanda, would require cooperation not only between the Government of Rwanda and UNAMIR, but also with the neighbouring countries. A regional approach towards resolving the matter would therefore be most welcome.

Despite the fact that some progress has been achieved, there are still some difficulties faced by the Government of Rwanda that have created tensions and frustrations, which my delegation fully appreciates and sympathizes with. In this context, I would like to point out that delay in bringing the perpetrators of genocide to justice, through both the national judicial system and the International Tribunal, is one of the underlying causes. This delay is mainly due to the acute shortage of personnel and resources. My delegation therefore would

like to call upon the international community to be more forthcoming in providing the necessary assistance to Rwanda in this respect in order to restore the functions of the judicial system.

In the light of these considerations, my delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution now before us.

The President: I thank the representative of Indonesia for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. Nkgowe (Botswana): Let me first of all convey our congratulations to you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council this month. We also wish to express our appreciation to Ambassador Mérimée, Permanent Representative of France, for the exemplary manner in which he conducted the business of the Council last month.

Botswana follows the developments in Rwanda with keen interest. We are encouraged by the determination and commitment of the Government and people of Rwanda to the process of reconstruction and rehabilitation of their country. The provision of water and electricity, the reopening of primary and secondary schools and the resumption of economic and agricultural activities, as outlined in the Secretary-General's report (S/1995/457), bear testimony to the efforts being made by the *Banyarwanda* to build a better future with very limited resources at their disposal.

There are obviously still many challenges ahead and hurdles to be overcome. One of them is the need to create an effective judiciary. We are encouraged that this is being given urgent attention. We commend the decision of the Government of Rwanda to submit, in accordance with the Arusha Peace Agreement, a list of candidates from which the National Assembly will elect six high-ranking judges. We believe that this is an important step in rebuilding Rwanda's judicial system, which is vital to the process of national healing and reconciliation. The return of the rule of law would have a positive psychological effect on the people of Rwanda, and on genuine refugees in the neighbouring countries, with the knowledge that their civic liberties and fundamental human rights would be protected against the rule of men. The speedy rebuilding of the justice system would also ensure that suspects in the over-crowded prisons, which have attracted considerable media attention in the recent past, are tried expeditiously.

My delegation has no reason to doubt the authority of the Government of Rwanda or that it is capable of providing security and protection to its own citizens. No one, as far as we know, has ever questioned the credentials of the Government in maintaining relative peace and stability in the country following the defeat of the perpetrators of genocide.

In the light of what I have said, we believe it is appropriate that the Security Council should review the mandate of the United Nations Assistance Mission in Rwanda (UNAMIR). My delegation therefore supports the new mandate, with a reduced force level in accordance with the wishes of the Government of Rwanda. We know that the Government of Rwanda did not get everything it had hoped for, but this can be expected in any negotiation process.

UNAMIR has made a significant contribution to the creation of a climate of peace, stability and national reconciliation in Rwanda. It will continue to play an important role as the embodiment of the readiness of the international community to cooperate with Rwanda in the difficult task of rebuilding a war-ravaged country. The adjustment of the mandate is, in our view, not a reflection of UNAMIR's failure, but, rather, an admission on our part that qualitative changes have occurred which require a quantitative change in UNAMIR personnel to take account of the changed circumstances on the ground.

National reconciliation is the biggest challenge facing the Government and the people of Rwanda. There are 2 million Rwandan refugees in Burundi, Tanzania and Zaire. We believe that it will not be possible to create durable peace when such a large number of people remain in refugee camps outside the country. While the responsibility for creating a climate conducive to the voluntary return of the refugees lies with the Government of Rwanda, we believe that the international community has a moral obligation to help, materially or otherwise, in this process. The resettlement and reintegration of the returnees will require substantial resources, which cannot be provided by the Government of Rwanda alone. We believe such resources would be less than what is currently being spent on refugees in camps, who are unable to engage in any meaningful productive activity.

The supplies of arms and the military training in refugee camps in neighbouring countries and the cross-border incursions into the territory of Rwanda by elements of the former Government are a matter of serious concern to my delegation. They are a threat to the atmosphere of relative peace and stability that currently

prevails in the country. They are also a threat to efforts which are being made for the voluntary and safe return of the refugees. They poison the atmosphere of mutual confidence and trust that is being engendered, and they place serious obstacles on the road to rehabilitation and reconstruction in the country. Moreover, they create tensions along the borders of Rwanda, and therefore pose a threat to regional peace and security. It is our hope that every effort will be made to ensure that the perpetrators of genocide do not return to Rwanda through the barrel of a gun.

The President: I thank the representative of Botswana for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. Rendón Barnica (Honduras) *(interpretation from Spanish)*: Let me begin, Sir, by congratulating you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. Your great experience and personal qualities will guarantee the success of the Council's deliberations. I wish also to express my delegation's thanks to the Permanent Representative of France, Ambassador Mérimée, for the able way in which he guided the work of the Council in May.

My delegation thanks the Secretary-General for his report dated 4 June 1995 on the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR), in which he concludes that the situation in Rwanda has changed radically and that the changes call for adjustments in the mandate of UNAMIR. The situation in Rwanda has indeed changed; the current circumstances there are not those of a year ago, which saw the end of the war and the genocide that caused the most unspeakable suffering. But the situation remains complex. Behind the apparent stability and normality in the country, problems persist, giving rise to tension and uncertainty for the people and the Government of Rwanda, and to justifiable concern for the international community. In our view, these problems must be rapidly resolved in order to create a climate of security and confidence conducive to the return of the refugees, to peace and to national reconciliation.

First and foremost, the people of Rwanda must have justice. A year ago nearly a million persons were massacred in that country, and the victims and their families are still waiting for the perpetrators to be tried. Thousands are now in Rwandan gaols without indictment or trial because the national judicial system is paralysed by lack of personnel and resources. Unless the judicial system is quickly rebuilt, with the assistance of the international community, many will long languish in prison, some guilty, others innocent. The cycle of violence threatens to continue in Rwanda if the victims of genocide and other serious violations of international law do not see justice done.

The decisions on the establishment of the International Tribunal for Rwanda and on the appointment of a Deputy Prosecutor were important for bringing to trial suspected perpetrators of genocide and for beginning the investigation of such acts. But we consider that as a priority matter Rwanda's national judicial system should simultaneously be reconstituted through the optimal use of all the urgently needed resources and experts pledged by the international community. In that connection, we must be aware that the great majority of cases will have to be investigated and tried by Rwandan courts.

We also believe that neighbouring countries have an important role to play in achieving justice in Rwanda. In that connection, my delegation encourages the Special Envoy of the Secretary-General in Rwanda to remind the Governments of Burundi, Tanzania and Zaire of their responsibility to bring to justice those responsible for violations of human rights, and to cooperate with the International Tribunal for Rwanda by facilitating investigations on their respective territories.

The Government and the people of Rwanda are also concerned about continued military activities in the border areas and by the provision of weapons and training to elements of the forces of the former Government. These activities exacerbate tension, inspire fear and are a destabilizing factor. My Government urges the countries neighbouring Rwanda to take measures to prevent these activities, and to comply scrupulously with the restrictions set out in resolution 918 (1994) on the sale or supply of arms and related matériel to Rwanda.

A third element noted in the report of the Secretary-General is the slow delivery of the economic assistance pledged at the round table held by the United Nations Development Programme in Geneva in January this year. In this connection, we must recall that the disastrous events of spring 1994 largely destroyed Rwanda's economic and social infrastructure and diminished its administrative capacities. The country must be enabled to recover its national production capacity, to promote national reconciliation and to create the climate of confidence that is needed for the return of the refugees. Rwanda does not need a trickle of international assistance; it needs a sustained contribution that will

enable the Government quickly to meet its budgetary requirements and carry out rehabilitation and reconstruction activities.

UNAMIR, United Nations agencies, human rights observers, the International Tribunal and non-governmental organizations have an essential role to play in the joint effort to help the people of Rwanda achieve peace, stability and reconstruction in accordance with the principles of the Arusha Peace Agreement. We consider that UNAMIR's presence in Rwanda has made and is making a great contribution to engendering the stability, security and confidence the country needs so badly. My delegation therefore agrees that the Mission's mandate should be adjusted in favour of functions aimed principally at confidence-building in the areas of national reconciliation, the voluntary and safe return of refugees, humanitarian assistance and the training of a national police force. Active cooperation from the Government of Rwanda is critical if UNAMIR is to carry out these new functions. We therefore urge that Government to continue its full cooperation with the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda.

My delegation supports the Secretary-General's initiative on convening a regional conference on security, stability and development in consultation with the Organization of African Unity, for, as the report says, the return of Rwandan refugees depends not only on improved conditions inside the country but also on better relations between the countries of the Great Lakes region.

Having said that, my delegation supports the Secretary-General's proposal for the extension of the mandate of UNAMIR, and will vote in favour of the draft resolution. We hope that its adoption will contribute to the efforts of the Government of Rwanda to achieve justice, national reconciliation and reconstruction.

The President: I thank the representative of Honduras for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. Qin Huasun (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): Mr. President, allow me at the outset to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. The Chinese delegation pledges you its full cooperation. We are confident that, given your wisdom and extensive diplomatic experience, you will guide the Council's work this month towards success.

I also wish to take this opportunity to thank your predecessor, Ambassador Mérimée of France, for his outstanding contribution to the complete success of the Council's work last month.

This is the first time since I took up my functions here that I have made a statement at a formal meeting of the Security Council. As the Permanent Representative of China to the United Nations, I can say that I should like to establish a good working relationship with members to help fulfil the purposes and principles of the Charter and bring peace and development to the world.

The practice of United Nations peace-keeping operations over the years has shown that such operations can succeed only when they adhere strictly to the purposes and principles of the Charter and to principles that history has proved effective. In our view, such principles include, primarily, respect for the sovereignty of the countries concerned; non-interference in their internal affairs; the non-use of force except in self-defence; observance of strict neutrality by refraining from involvement in internal disputes and conflicts; and obtaining the countries' consent and cooperation. Furthermore, United Nations peace-keeping operations should be carried out in light of the current realities and the actual capabilities of the United Nations. Any operation that deviates from these principles will suffer setbacks or failures.

There have already been many examples, both positive and negative, in this connection. At present, United Nations peace-keeping operations are going through a critical period of reflection and transition. It is therefore all the more imperative for the Security Council to draw the lessons of past experience and consider each operation carefully, in the light of these principles, so as to make decisions that are practical and feasible.

Since its establishment, the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) has made some contributions to the stability of Rwanda and to the delivery of humanitarian assistance. The situation in Rwanda is now moving towards normalcy. That this is so is inseparable from the positive efforts of the Rwandese Government, particularly the tremendous work it has done in promoting national reconciliation and healing the wounds of war; gratifying progress has been achieved here.

Schools have been reopened. Water and power supplies have been partly restored. Rwanda is already on

the road towards rebuilding and reconstruction. However, it still faces difficulties: the security problem remains grim; the repatriation of refugees and the return of displaced persons have again come to a halt; and the flow of weapons into Rwanda has yet to be controlled. The task facing the Rwandese Government and people therefore remains a very arduous one: they must rely mainly on their own efforts to facilitate, through national reconciliation, a smooth repatriation and return.

The actions of the international community, including the actions of the Security Council, should aim first of all to meet the priority needs of the Rwandese people; in this way, they can be of genuine help to the Rwandese Government and people in achieving political and social stability. In this connection, the will of the Rwandese Government and people must be respected.

The Security Council proposes, in light of the changed situation in Rwanda, to modify UNAMIR's mandate and reduce the scope of its activities; UNAMIR will mainly play a good-offices role in future to help achieve national reconciliation within the framework of the Arusha Peace Agreement. We are of the view that this change is in the interests of the Rwandese people.

The draft resolution before us basically reflects this spirit. The Chinese delegation will vote in favour, a decision based on our consistent support for the Rwandese peace process. We hope that the adoption of the draft resolution will further promote peace and stability in Rwanda and help the Rwandese people achieve national reconciliation so that soon they will be able to live and work in peace and contentment.

The President: I thank the Permanent Representative of China for his kind words addressed to me.

The Council will now proceed to the vote on the draft resolution contained in document S/1995/465, as orally revised in its provisional form.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Argentina, Botswana, China, Czech Republic, France, Germany, Honduras, Indonesia, Italy, Nigeria, Oman, Russian Federation, Rwanda, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution, as orally revised in its provisional form, has been adopted unanimously as resolution 997 (1995).

I shall now call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mr. Gomersall (United Kingdom): Mr. President, allow me first of all to congratulate you, on behalf of my delegation, on your assumption of the presidency this month, and to thank Ambassador Mérimée of France for his distinguished and efficient conduct of the Council's work last month.

We welcome the adoption of the resolution extending the peace-keeping work of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) for a further six months and redefining its mandate to reflect the considerable changes in circumstances and in the needs of the people of Rwanda. Their overriding requirement is now for the development of a climate of stability and confidence, which will encourage further efforts and progress towards national reconciliation. My Government is satisfied that, with this resolution, UNAMIR now has the mandate to offer effective assistance with this process.

We also welcome the outcome of discussions between the Government of Rwanda and the United Nations which should ensure that UNAMIR will have at its disposal the military assets that the Force Commander believes are necessary to carry out the mandate. We look to the Government of Rwanda to continue to work with UNAMIR to ensure the safety of the personnel of all international agencies and non-governmental organizations, and to maintain full cooperation to enable them to carry out their essential humanitarian tasks. We particularly look to the Government of Rwanda to fulfil its commitments under the Status of Mission Agreement and other relevant agreements.

We hope that the Government of Rwanda will draw confidence from the restatement of the arms embargo in this resolution to make clear to neighbouring countries that the embargo applies if the arms are for use in Rwanda. We welcome the readiness just expressed by the Permanent Representative of Zaire to cooperate in this area, and we hope that the consultations with Zaire and other neighbouring countries will lead to early steps to tighten the noose on the illicit traffic in arms to elements opposed to national reconciliation in Rwanda. All countries in the region must continue their efforts to

ensure that the embargo is enforced effectively within their jurisdictions, and to prevent activities aimed at the destabilization of Rwanda from taking place within their borders.

The presence of UNAMIR provides an essential element of the framework for cooperation between the Government of Rwanda and the international community to assist the development of the country and to develop a climate in which refugees and internally displaced people can return home in safety. We wish to see the international community increase its effort towards rehabilitation and reunification inside Rwanda, in particular through the rapid delivery of the substantial commitment of aid already entered into by the international community.

Finally, we pay a particular tribute to the work of the Secretary General's Special Representative in helping secure a lasting peace in Rwanda. We also welcome the Secretary General's efforts to develop a wider political dialogue in the region as a whole. We hope that all neighbouring countries will join with the international community in support of this process.

The President: I thank the representative of the United Kingdom for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. Fulci (Italy): Allow me at the outset, Sir, to offer my sincere congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council. Having been privileged to serve with you for many years in another forum, I knew from the first moment that you began to exercise this function that you would be very successful.

Your predecessor, Ambassador Jean-Bernard Mérimée, the Permanent Representative of France, with his brilliant presidency of the Council last month, once more confirmed the high professionalism that has won him universal admiration and respect.

Italy welcomes the adoption of the resolution on the renewal of the mandate of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) until 8 December 1995. The resolution marks the beginning of a new phase of cooperation between the United Nations and Rwanda — a phase which, we are convinced, will be characterized by unity of intent and of objectives.

I wish to take this opportunity to express our sincere satisfaction at the spirit of compromise and flexibility that has prevailed during the course of the consultations held over the last few days. This spirit has made possible the launching of a new, significant phase in the operation in Rwanda, one that shifts the focus from peace-keeping to confidence-building. All the conditions seem to be set now for the Rwandese operation to become another United Nations success story like those in Cambodia, El Salvador, Haiti and Mozambique.

In this respect, let me pay homage to the diplomatic skill and balance shown by our colleague Ambassador Manzi Bakuramutsa, the Permanent Representative of Rwanda. In our opinion, that skill and balance were instrumental in reaching an agreement that satisfied all concerned.

The resolution realistically adjusts the mandate of UNAMIR to the conditions prevailing in the country today, which are characterized by renewed stability. There are numerous signs that testify to the gradual return to normality in Rwanda. To complete this positive overall picture, it will now be necessary for the national judicial system to be reactivated and for the International Tribunal to begin operating without delay. This would also help reinforce the climate of confidence, and thus help towards a definitive solution to the refugee problem, a solution which we hope will come soon. In this respect, I should like to express our deep appreciation to Zaire and to other neighbouring countries for carrying a substantial part of the burden of the refugee flow and for managing it effectively.

We consider it significant that the subject of the rearming militias and the supply of arms at refugee camps are also dealt with in the resolution. We consider of equal significance the clarification of certain aspects of the arms embargo in order to give the international community more effective means against those who would act to destabilize Rwanda. We support, without reservation, the measures adopted today in this regard.

Italy also wishes to emphasize particularly the resolution's call for the convening of a regional conference on security and stability in the Great Lakes area. We are convinced that the recent developments in the region should now lead to the adoption of broader confidence-building measures. These would greatly help to restore stability in the entire region and set in motion the necessary work for rehabilitation and reconstruction.

In conclusion, Italy believes that the Security Council has today adopted an effective instrument in support of the efforts of the Rwandese authorities and of

the international community towards long-term solutions to the problems of the area.

The President: I thank the representative of Italy for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mrs. Albright (United States of America): Let me begin by congratulating you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month and by saying that we look forward to working with you productively and closely.

I should also like to thank Ambassador Mérimée of France for the outstanding leadership he provided to us last month.

The United States strongly supports Rwanda's efforts to become a peaceful, just and open society. Rwanda's tragic history cannot be undone, so our goal today is to open a new chapter for this troubled land — a chapter in which the Rwandan Government and the international community work together to reconcile former combatants, promote justice for the victims of genocide and set the Rwandan people on a path to a better future.

Our joint effort to achieve these goals remains a work in progress, one that can be accomplished only through unique cooperation between the international community and the Government of Rwanda. The United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) continues to have a critical role to play in this effort. One of its main functions will be to assist the Rwandan Government in its daunting tasks of readying the country for the voluntary and safe repatriation of refugees. The tens of thousands of refugees and displaced persons represent not only a human tragedy for those in the camps, but also contribute to the tensions in the region.

We are all aware of reports that bases and camps separate from those under the supervision of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, are being used for military training, recruitment and incursions into Rwanda. This is a danger that we must address. That is why the resolution also asks the Secretary-General to work with the Government of Rwanda and other Governments in the region to investigate and curb the flow of arms to those who seek to destabilize Rwanda.

My Government is particularly pleased that, under this mandate, UNAMIR will contribute to the security of the personnel of the International Tribunal. The Tribunal's success is crucial for the future of Rwanda. Those who planned and led the genocide in 1994 must be brought to justice. Justice is an essential element of reconciliation; we are all in full agreement with the Rwandan Government in this regard. To carry out their duties, the investigators, prosecutors and judges of the International Tribunal require impartial international military protection. We express our gratitude to the Special Representative, Ambassador Khan, for his effective work and to the personnel of UNAMIR for their tireless efforts.

My Government also believes that UNAMIR can address only part of the challenge that faces Rwanda. We are acutely aware that development assistance is required to achieve stability. As the Ambassador of Rwanda has stated, doctors, agronomists and development experts must work alongside the peace-keepers to achieve our shared goals for Rwanda.

Finally, as a member of the Security Council, Rwanda has an important responsibility to promote the inviolability of international law around the world. We welcome the Government of Rwanda's cooperation and expect it to meet its obligations under this mandate as we work together towards building peace and stability for all the people of the region.

The President: I thank the representative of the United States for the kind words she addressed to me.

Mr. Al-Sameen (Oman) (*interpretation from Arabic*): At the outset, Sir, I should like, on behalf of my delegation, to extend to you our congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council. We are convinced that your diplomatic experience and skills augur well for the success of the work of the Council. I should like also to pay a tribute to your predecessor, Ambassador Jean-Bernard Mérimée, the Permanent Representative of France, and to the members of his delegation for the exemplary and wise manner in which they guided the proceedings of the Council last month.

A full year has elapsed since the humanitarian catastrophe in Rwanda, in all its violence, genocide and horror. My delegation is pleased to note the return of relative security and stability to Rwanda and that there are indications that life is beginning to resume its normal course. This is reflected in the fact that the Rwandese have resumed various day-to-day activities such as farming, trade and so on, children are returning to school, basic services are being restored and

reconstruction is beginning. These are all reasons for some degree of optimism.

However, many challenges remain which the Government of Rwanda, with the support of the international community, must deal with effectively. The most dangerous of these are the military raids carried out by elements from the armed forces and militias of the former regime. Their military activities and the fact that they still have weapons cause us deep concern. We believe that the international community must continue to give assistance to the Rwandese Government to help it deal with the danger posed by these elements and prevent the outbreak of a new wave of violence and genocide in Rwanda.

My delegation believes that the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) has played an extremely important role, in circumstances that were often difficult, in alleviating suffering in this humanitarian crisis and in encouraging national reconciliation. My delegation shares the view that UNAMIR is still a necessary tool for restoring confidence and that its presence in Rwanda adds an important dimension to the efforts under way to create a climate of stability, confidence and security. Similarly, UNAMIR's presence helps create favourable conditions for the return and reintegration of refugees and displaced persons, and for guaranteeing assistance for reconstruction.

Accordingly, my delegation welcomes the resolution just adopted by the Security Council in which it extends UNAMIR's mandate for a six-month period, until next December. We are particularly pleased to note the changes that have been made to UNAMIR's mandate, as set out in operative paragraph 2 of the resolution, and we believe that the Mission's mandate should reflect developments in the field.

My delegation, in the firm belief that the United Nations is following the proper course of action in Rwanda and that the Government of Rwanda still intends to cooperate with UNAMIR's efforts, supports the resolution, and indeed voted in favour. We hope that the resolution will play an effective part in the restoration of peace and national reconciliation in Rwanda.

In conclusion, I should like to emphasize the constructive role that the Special Representative of the Secretary-General has played in favour of the restoration of peace and stability in Rwanda and in the reconstruction of the country.

The President: I thank the representative of Oman for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. Lavrov (Russian Federation) (*interpretation from Russian*): First of all, allow me to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month, and also to express our gratitude to the Permanent Representative of France, Ambassador Mérimée, for his skilled guidance of our work in May.

I should like also to welcome to our ranks the new Permanent Representative of China, Ambassador Qin Huasun, at this, the first official meeting of the Security Council in which he has participated.

Russia, with unflagging attention, continues to follow the development of the situation in and around Rwanda: we note with satisfaction the indications of a gradual normalization of the situation. We hope that the Rwandese authorities, in conjunction with the country's various political forces and with the assistance of the international community, will succeed in fully stabilizing the situation and in creating the necessary conditions for solving the problems spawned by the civil war, dealing with the aftermath and, above all, for the refugees to return to their homes.

In the context of the new situation, we agree with the need to make certain adjustments to the mandate of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR), and believe that the Mission's new mandate, which was drafted taking the wishes of the Rwandese leadership into account and which the members of the Council have just adopted unanimously, retains an adequate United Nations presence and an active United Nations role in Rwanda. We expect that further constructive cooperation by the Government of Rwanda with UNAMIR and the Secretary-General's Special Representative will assist in the speediest possible achievement of national reconciliation and reconstruction.

Russia, like a number of other States, is actively participating in international emergency assistance to Rwanda, and has been involved since the early stages of the crisis in rendering humanitarian assistance. In addition, there are Russian military observers in UNAMIR.

On the political level, we continue to believe that the Arusha Agreement continues to define the framework for a peaceful settlement. We note the special role that the

Organization of African Unity (OAU) and Rwanda's neighbouring countries are called upon to play.

We cannot fail to be concerned by the situation resulting from the continuing militarization of certain camps located in adjacent countries. We note with satisfaction the useful activity of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), which, through constructive contacts with the Zairian authorities, was able to establish order in refugee camps under UNHCR's control. We hope that Rwanda's neighbouring countries, in accordance with the provisions of the resolution just adopted, will take all necessary measures to put an end to the illegal delivery of weapons to extremists from the Rwandan opposition. This will be an important contribution to the maintenance of stability both in Rwanda and in the region as a whole.

The President: I thank the representative of the Russian Federation for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. Mérimée (France) (*interpretation from French*): Before turning to the main subject of my statement, I should like to offer you, Sir, the congratulations of the French delegation on your assumption of the presidency and to say that we take great pleasure at seeing the representative of Germany guiding the work of the Council.

My delegation voted in favour of resolution 997 (1995), which extends the mandate of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) for six months, until 8 December 1995, and maintains a United Nations presence in Rwanda. The situation in that country has changed considerably since this operation was established. There is no longer a civil war. The camps for displaced persons have been dismantled. The Rwandan Government has requested that the United Nations draw the relevant conclusions from these changes and that the United Nations operation in Rwanda no longer be entrusted with peace-keeping tasks *per se*.

That is what the Security Council has just done in giving UNAMIR a new mandate. It is also envisaged that the troop strength will be reduced by more than half. We hope the Government of Rwanda will cooperate fully with the United Nations operation and that it will continue to respect the Status of Mission Agreement. We attach particular importance to this last point.

Thus reconfigured, UNAMIR will have the primary task of providing assistance to the Rwandan Government, particularly with regard to what we see as the essential, priority question: the return of refugees and their reintegration into their communities. We hope the Rwandan Government will continue to make every possible effort to promote the continuation of this process. We are certain that on the basis of such efforts the international community will continue to render assistance to the Rwandan people.

We also believe that the refugee question cannot be resolved solely in a national framework. France therefore continues to hope that a conference on peace, security and stability will be organized so that the problems facing the countries of the Great Lakes Region can be resolved in a regional framework.

In conclusion, my country believes that confidence can be re-established in Rwanda only if there is a halt to the arms smuggling that fuels tensions in the region. Measures to that end include the clarification of the embargo regime imposed under resolution 918 (1994) and the possible deployment in neighbouring countries of military observers whose task it will be to monitor the implementation of the embargo.

We regard the restoration of stability and confidence, the return of refugees and national reconciliation as the only ways in which the countries of the region, and Rwanda in particular, will be able to return to the path of peace and progress.

The President: I thank the representative of France for the kind words he addressed to me.

Ms. Cañas (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): At the outset, I wish to express my delegation's pleasure at seeing you, Sir, presiding over the work of the Council and to offer you our fullest cooperation in the discharge of your tasks, in which, given your great abilities, we are sure you will be successful.

We would also like to congratulate Ambassador Mérimée of France and his entire delegation for their harmonious and skilful guidance of the work of the Council in the month of May.

My Government wishes to express its appreciation to the Government of Rwanda for its achievements and its efforts to normalize life in that country, despite the difficult situation it faces. As we have said before, the safe and voluntary return of Rwandan refugees to their communities is essential for the rehabilitation and

reconstruction of Rwanda. For this reason, the lack of a judicial system, the militarization of the Rwandan refugee camps in neighbouring countries — which results directly in destabilizing incursions into Rwanda — and the need to speed up the establishment of conditions favouring the return and reintegration of the refugees are priority issues that must be dealt with swiftly in order to head off the possibility of another massacre in the region.

In the resolution just adopted, the Security Council specifically focuses on those aspects. On the one hand, taking into account the new circumstances in Rwanda, the Council has adjusted the mandate of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) and its force level. My delegation fully supports UNAMIR's reorientation, which was worked out in close consultation with the Rwandan delegation and is described in operative paragraph 3 of the resolution. We believe the task can be successfully performed with a reduction in UNAMIR's personnel, in accordance with the provisions of the resolution; maintenance of the current number of military observers and civilian police; and, most especially, the full cooperation of the Rwandese Government.

On the other hand, under paragraphs 4, 5 and 6 of the resolution, the Council, concerned about reports on military preparations and increasing incursions into Rwanda by elements of the old regime, is taking measures in that regard. It states clearly that the restrictions imposed by resolution 918 (1994) apply to the sale or supply of arms and matériel specified in that resolution to persons in the States neighbouring Rwanda if that sale or supply is for the purpose of the use of such arms or matériel in Rwanda. It also calls upon the States neighbouring Rwanda to take steps with the aim of putting an end to factors contributing to the destabilization of Rwanda, and requests the Secretary-General to consult with those countries' Governments on the possibility of the deployment of military observers in their territories in order to monitor the sale or supply of arms.

We believe that all of these measures should be accompanied by increased assistance to Rwanda's rehabilitation efforts. Making resources available to Rwanda will make it possible to speed up the establishment of the climate of confidence necessary for national reconciliation and the return of refugees. In this connection, we urge donor States and organizations to fulfil their commitments, and in particular to support the early and effective operation of the International Tribunal and the rehabilitation of Rwanda's judicial system.

We also believe that the regional perspective of the problem of Rwanda should be borne in mind. We think it advisable to reactivate and implement the Bujumbura agreement, since it provides the host countries, the countries of origin and the international community with the proper framework for action on the refugee question.

Similarly, we believe that the global approach to the problems of the Great Lakes Region is appropriate, and in that connection support the speedy convening of the regional Conference on Security, Stability and Development.

At this new juncture for Rwanda, we believe that the presence of the United Nations, in close cooperation with its Government, has an important role to play in rehabilitating the country and in enhancing confidence in the international community at a time when Rwanda is in great need of it.

The President: I thank the representative of Argentina for her kind words addressed to me.

Mr. Rovensky (Czech Republic): Mr. President, first allow me to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. I should also like to take this opportunity to thank Ambassador Mérimée of France and his delegation for the excellent way in which the affairs of the Council were guided last month.

Resolution 997 (1995), which the Council has just unanimously adopted, marks the beginning of a new stage of United Nations involvement in Rwanda.

At this juncture, therefore, it would be fitting to consider how successful the efforts to bring peace and stability to that long-suffering African country have been.

The Secretary-General in his report on the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) indicates that a climate of relative stability has prevailed in Rwanda and that the country, which last year was stricken by genocide, is now largely at peace. The long and arduous process of recovery has begun.

It is clear from the report that the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda has so far been a success. Over the past year UNAMIR has assisted the Rwandan people in achieving and maintaining peace, and it has also made a significant contribution to the normalization of the situation in Rwanda. It is also clear that the

continuing presence of UNAMIR in Rwanda is essential if the process of stabilization and confidence-building in the country is to continue.

Resolution 997 (1995) adjusts the mandate of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda so that it reflects in a better way the present situation prevailing in that country, especially the improved security environment.

On the basis of this adjusted mandate, UNAMIR will concentrate on a confidence-building role rather than on peace-keeping. It will assist the Rwandese Government with the process of confidence- building, with the reintegration of the returning refugees into their home communities and with the distribution of humanitarian aid.

Furthermore, UNAMIR will be entrusted with the task of protecting the personnel of the International Tribunal for Rwanda and the various non-governmental organizations performing humanitarian activities in Rwanda. Another important task will be the provision of assistance in the training of the Rwandan national police force. UNAMIR, which will be substantially reduced in strength, will carry out its mandate with full respect for the Rwandan Government's sovereign authority.

The improvement in the overall situation in Rwanda is the result of great efforts exerted by the Government of Rwanda, with the assistance of other member States of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the international community in general.

However, despite all the positive achievements, a lot still needs to be done before Rwanda returns to normal and before there is true national reconciliation, which is a crucial prerequisite for the long-term stability and prosperity of the country.

Obviously, there can be no genuine national reconciliation unless a climate of stability, tolerance and trust is created which will encourage the 2 million refugees and displaced persons to return home. To create a climate conducive to the return of the refugees is the primary responsibility of the Government of Rwanda. It has to do its utmost to prevent abuse of the returning refugees, and if such abuse does take place it must punish those responsible according to the law.

It is clear that the success of national reconciliation is directly linked to the process of bringing to justice the people responsible for the genocide and other criminal acts which were committed during last year's civil war. The longer it takes, the longer and less successful will the process of national reconciliation be. This is why it is imperative to set up as soon as possible with international assistance an effective national judicial system and to get the International Tribunal for Rwanda fully operational.

Another important element of stability is the economic situation of the country. Rwanda's economy and infrastructure have been devastated by the vicious civil war. Rwanda cannot by itself cope with this huge problem, which, *inter alia*, further complicates the speedy return and reintegration of refugees. Not enough has been done by the international community so far to improve the situation. It is therefore imperative to accelerate the disbursement of international economic assistance pledged to Rwanda, which will help it in its short-term economic recovery.

With respect to the long-term solution of the various problems which Rwanda is currently facing, it is clear that a regional approach is needed here. My delegation therefore welcomes the intention of the Secretary-General to explore the possibilities of convening the regional Conference on Security, Stability and Development in the Great Lakes Region.

Although the security environment in Rwanda has improved over the past year, thanks to the efforts of the Rwandese security forces and of UNAMIR, the overall security situation is clearly still far from ideal. There are persistent reports of the rearming of elements of the former Rwandan regime and of an increase in cross-border armed incursions by these elements into Rwanda. This is a very disturbing development, which, if unchecked, could very seriously threaten the still fragile stability of the country and could create a new crisis.

We therefore welcome the fact that resolution 997 (1995) calls on States neighbouring Rwanda to ensure that arms and other military matériel which might be used in Rwanda do not fall into the wrong hands. In this context, we also welcome the proposal to station United Nations military observers in the countries neighbouring Rwanda, and we strongly urge their respective Governments to cooperate fully with the United Nations in this matter.

Finally, my delegation would like to pay special tribute to the Secretary-General's Special Representative in Rwanda, the Force Commander and the personnel of UNAMIR for their outstanding and tireless work, which

greatly contributes to the cause of peace and stability in Rwanda.

The President: I thank the representative of the Czech Republic for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. Bakuramutsa (Rwanda) *(interpretation from French):* Mr. President, my delegation would like to extend its congratulations to you and your delegation on your accession to the presidency of the Security Council for the month of June. We are sure that your wisdom and competence will allow the Council successfully to complete its work during this month. My delegation's full support is at your disposal should you require it.

I should also like to take advantage of this opportunity to congratulate Ambassador Jean-Bernard Mérimée on his effectiveness and the competence with which he guided the work of the Council during the month of May.

My delegation would also like to take this opportunity to welcome the Permanent Representative of China. My delegation also promises him its full cooperation.

My delegation would like to thank the Secretary-General for his interim report on the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR). My delegation would also like to thank in particular Mr. Shaharyar Khan, his Special Representative, as well as the UNAMIR Force Commander, General Guy Toussignant. Thanks to their personal qualities and their competence, UNAMIR has been able to complete its mandate. This is also thanks to the good cooperation and regular consultations which they have had with the Rwandan Government.

As the Council is aware, 10 months ago Rwanda was a country in ruins, with one eighth of its population decimated by blind genocide, advocated and planned by the then Government.

My Government recognizes, with the Secretary-General, the need to review UNAMIR's mandate. The situation has changed, and the current mandate had already been overtaken by events. I should point out that my Government, like any responsible Government, wishes to exercise its sovereignty in the security field throughout Rwanda.

The Government of Rwanda would also like to ensure peace and build confidence between the Rwandese without any go-betweens. So long as there is a go-between that confidence can never be fully established. There is a need to promote direct contacts between the people and its Government.

My delegation is convinced that, now that UNAMIR has a clear, realistic and feasible mandate, cooperation between the Government and UNAMIR will be both total and stronger.

My delegation would like to take this opportunity to raise two points that deserve serious consideration. The first is the insecurity arising from the refugee camps, which are a danger to peace in Rwanda and its neighbouring countries. My delegation would request the Secretary-General to submit a report to the Security Council on the situation in the camps rather than allowing the situation to deteriorate and leaving it to the non-governmental organizations and journalists to assess the situation. If the countries that are affected by these refugee camps wish to demonstrate transparency, we would ask them to form an international commission to consider this question.

My second point concerns the arms embargo imposed on the current Rwandese Government, which in fact helps the criminals of the former Government who planned last year's genocide in Rwanda. It is unfortunate that the new Government of National Unity is now the sole victim of this embargo, which is technically difficult to implement in the refugee camps, since the group there is not a political entity.

My delegation appeals urgently to the Security Council to review its resolution 918 (1994), which was designed to address a particular situation; that situation and the government to which that resolution applied no longer exist, and the resolution therefore penalizes a government that is struggling to ensure security for its people while the real criminals for whom it was designed are arming themselves with impunity so that they can finish off the crimes they started last year. We therefore request a review of resolution 918 (1994), because the Rwandese people not only need it, they have a right to it.

The President (*interpretation from French*): I thank the representative of Rwanda for his kind words addressed to me.

(spoke in English)

I shall now make a statement in my capacity as representative of Germany.

My Government was pleased to support the resolution, just adopted, extending the mandate of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) for a further six months. UNAMIR can thus continue to play its crucial role in Rwanda's reconciliation and rehabilitation process.

Since we last decided on the mandate of UNAMIR, the situation in Rwanda has changed considerably. Given these changed circumstances, the Council has decided to adjust both the mandate and the size of UNAMIR. UNAMIR needs a solid basis for its work; this basis will be provided by the mandate and by force level which we have agreed upon. UNAMIR will conduct its work in close cooperation with the Government of Rwanda. Likewise, we expect the Rwandan authorities to give their full support to UNAMIR.

Stability, genuine national reconciliation and reconstruction remain the ultimate goals for Rwanda. UNAMIR will help achieve national reconciliation between all Rwandans by continuing to exercise its good offices. However, without the return of the refugees, there will be no lasting stability in the country. In this context, UNAMIR will assist the Government of Rwanda in facilitating the voluntary and safe return of refugees to their home communities.

Another precondition for genuine national reconciliation is the attainment of justice. Those who are guilty of genocide must be brought to trial. We therefore strongly support the emphasis that the resolution places on supporting an early and effective functioning of the International Tribunal and on rehabilitating the Rwandan judicial system. Rwanda still needs urgent and substantial assistance for its rehabilitation efforts in this area.

In his report, the Secretary-General called for action to prevent military activities by Rwandan nationals in neighbouring countries aimed at destabilizing Rwanda. The Security Council has now requested the Secretary-General to consult the neighbouring countries on the possible deployment of United Nations military observers in order to monitor the arms embargo directed against these individuals, and we look forward to his report.

The scars of the horrible tragedy which afflicted Rwanda last year are still visible. But, slowly, Rwanda is returning to the stability and normalcy it seeks. The international community is called upon to continue to help the Rwandan people on their way. My Government will do its part and will further support Rwanda's rehabilitation and reconstruction efforts.

I now resume my functions as President of the Security Council.

There are no further speakers. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 1.25 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.3543

Security Council

Fifteth Year

Provisional

3543rd Meeting
Friday, 16 June 1995, 12.40 a.m.
New York

President:	Mr. Graf zu Rantzau	(Germany)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Nieto
	Botswana	Mr. Legwaila
	China	Mr. Qin Huasun
	Czech Republic	Mr. Kovanda
	France	Mr. Mérimée
	Honduras	Mr. Rendón Barnica
	Indonesia	Mr. Wisnumurti
	Italy	Mr. Ferrarin
	Nigeria	Mr. Ayewah
	Oman	Mr. Al-Khussaiby
	Russian Federation	Mr. Lavrov
	Rwanda	Mr. Bakuramutsa
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David Hannay
	United States of America	Mrs. Albright

Agenda

United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR)

Report of the Secretary-General pursuant to Security Council resolutions 982 (1995) and 987 (1995) (S/1995/444)

Letter dated 9 June 1995 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/1995/470 and Add.1)

95-85537 (E)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one week of the date of publication*, to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Section, room C-178.

The meeting was called to order at 12.40 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR)

Report of the Secretary-General pursuant to Security Council resolutions 982 (1995) and 987 (1995) (S/1995/444)

Letter dated 9 June 1995 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/1995/470 and Add.1)

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representatives of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Egypt, Malaysia and Turkey in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Sacirbey (Bosnia and Herzegovina) took a place at the Council table; Mr. Nobilo (Croatia), Mr. Awaad (Egypt), Mr. Thanarajasingam (Malaysia) and Mr. Güven (Turkey) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General pursuant to Security Council resolutions 982 (1995) and 987 (1995), document S/1995/444, and a letter dated 9 June 1995 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council, documents S/1995/470 and Addendum 1.

Members of the Council also have before them document S/1995/478, which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted by the Czech Republic, France, Germany, Honduras, Netherlands, Oman and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland. I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to the following revision to be made to the text of the draft resolution contained in document S/1995/478 in its provisional form. The following should be added at the end of paragraph 10:

", the modalities of financing to be determined later".

Paragraph 10 will then read:

"*Decides* accordingly to authorize an increase in UNPF/UNPROFOR personnel, acting under the present mandate and on the terms set out in the above-mentioned letter, by up to 12,500 additional troops, the modalities of financing to be determined later;".

I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to the following other documents: S/1995/477, identical letters dated 12 June 1995 from the Chargé d'Affaires *ad interim* of the Permanent Mission of Morocco to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General and to the President of the Security Council; S/1995/480, letter dated 12 June 1995 from the Permanent Representative of Kazakstan to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General; and S/1995/483, letter dated 14 June 1995 from the Chargé d'Affaires *ad interim* of the Permanent Mission of Bosnia and Herzegovina to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council, transmitting the text of a letter of the same date from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Bosnia and Herzegovina addressed to the President of the Security Council.

The first speaker is the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Bosnia and Herzegovina, His Excellency Mr. Muhamed Sacirbey, whom I welcome and whom I invite to make his statement.

Mr. Sacirbey (Bosnia and Herzegovina): It is indeed an honour to be before the members of the Council, particular you, Sir, who, as President of the Council for this month, have performed so brilliantly in your task. We also take this opportunity to thank your predecessor, the Permanent Representative of France, His Excellency Mr. Jean-Bernard Mérimée, for his most able performance last month, when I was still one of the United Nations colleagues of Council members.

As a sovereign country facing a most brutal aggression and endeavouring to defend our peoples from premeditated genocide, we have welcomed the assistance of the United Nations mission in our Republic. Yes, this assistance was largely symptomatic relief and, as a whole, has been a poor substitute for a real remedy addressing our victimization at the hands of a relentless aggressor. None the less, we once again stress our appreciation even for those half-measures, while continuing our call for real remedies.

Maybe we were naive. Maybe by rejecting those half-measures, by demanding our full rights and by calling upon the world Powers to meet their clear responsibilities in the face of aggression and genocide, we would have ultimately forced a true remedy. However, we could not afford to be so callous, so calculating with the most urgent physical needs of our population, even if some intended by giving us bread to muffle the screams of agony and cries for justice of those who continued to be "ethnically cleansed", shelled and murdered. Still, we also do not wish here to seem ungrateful or, especially, insensitive, by not taking the care to point out that most of those who sought to help our citizens, especially those courageous men and women of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) and so many other organizations, offered their help with the purest of motives.

Unfortunately, it appears that their good will and commitment to mankind, combined with our desperation for food and other essentials, was taken advantage of by more calculating political forces. We were all lectured that there was a choice between humanitarian assistance and the United Nations mission on the one hand and real remedies to bring about real peace and justice on the other. But time has shown that there really never was a real dilemma. The day of reckoning has come, and manufactured arguments have been exposed, running down the side of the wall like cheap paint in the midst of a rain storm.

Even the half-measures that the United Nations mission has offered, which helped sustain our people at one time, have now almost totally evaporated. Sarajevo, Srebrenica, Zepa, Gorazde and Bihac are denied any level of humanitarian assistance. Their populations are constantly targeted and murdered, and the stranglehold is allowed to tighten without response.

Furthermore, Serbian forces no longer just hold our civilians hostage to their war aims, but have now become so emboldened as to take United Nations personnel as human shields. Serbian terrorist tactics produce further concessions while the United Nations mission is further reduced to irrelevance.

The exclusion zone around Sarajevo is violated by the Serbians and ignored by those who are obligated to enforce it. Now we look forward to deployment of the rapid-reaction capability. It is the expectation of my Government that this mission will seek to reverse the negative process and enable the United Nations mission in our Republic once again to be fully and faithfully implemented.

In this context, we have given our consent to this new deployment. We could express notions of scepticism and even cynicism. Instead, we offer mutual cooperation in the most urgent task before our Government and the United Nations: to alleviate the humanitarian situation, loosen the stranglehold on our population and cities and lift the terrorism targeting civilians and United Nations personnel alike.

I think we all know that this is the last chance. And based upon experience we will continue to hope for the best, but must frankly anticipate the least as we consider our options.

The President: I thank the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Bosnia and Herzegovina for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Malaysia. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Thanarajasingam (Malaysia): At the outset, let me congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month and convey our appreciation to your predecessor, the Permanent Representative of France. We also wish to thank the Secretary-General for his report, contained in document S/1995/444.

Recent events in Bosnia and Herzegovina have led us to a situation which calls for a timely review of the future role of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR). The Bosnian Serbs continue to humiliate the United Nations by taking its peace-keepers hostage and defying relevant Security Council resolutions, giving a worldwide impression that the United Nations, and in particular the Security Council, is ineffective in addressing a threat to international peace and security.

Malaysia strongly condemns such cowardly acts and demands the immediate and unconditional release of all remaining detained UNPROFOR personnel. We call upon all parties fully to respect the safety of UNPROFOR personnel and the civilian population.

The Working Group of the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC) on Bosnia and Herzegovina, composed of OIC Contact Group members and UNPROFOR troop contributors, has carefully examined the report of the Secretary-General and has already presented its position, which my delegation fully supports.

Let me at this stage make the following comments and observations on the report of the Secretary-General. The report contains several contradictions and, in some cases, inaccurate information. For example, in paragraph 67, it is incorrect to indicate that neither party to the conflict seems to have reached the firm conclusion that it has a better chance of achieving its objectives at the negotiating table than on the battlefield. Indeed, it is only the Bosnian Serbs who have rejected the Contact Group peace plan and opted for a military solution. We wish to reiterate our demand that the Bosnian Serbs accept the peace plan so as to resolve the conflict with a political solution.

The mandate for UNPROFOR has been clearly spelled out in the relevant Security Council resolutions, including in the context of Chapter VII of the Charter and its enforcement. We do not agree with the attempt to characterize UNPROFOR as merely a peace-keeping operation and to downplay UNPROFOR's mandate relating to its enforcement responsibilities.

The existing mandate suffers from a lack of implementation. UNPROFOR should be provided with the required means for the full implementation of the mandate. In this regard, our position on the options presented by the Secretary-General is as follows.

On Option A, we do not agree that UNPROFOR should withdraw from Bosnia. On the contrary, the United Nations Force should be increased and strengthened to enable it fully to implement its mandate.

On Option B, the existing mandate of UNPROFOR should be retained, but the means of implementation need to be adapted. We do not agree with maintaining the status quo, as this policy has proved to be a failure.

On Option C, we favour assertive action and are of the view that this could be undertaken without changing the existing mandate.

As for option D, we do not agree that this option is the way to move forward, especially when the Bosnian Serbs have once again blatantly challenged the will of the international community by taking United Nations peace-keepers hostage. This option will weaken UNPROFOR's mandate rather than strengthen it.

We too believe that a combination of some of the elements pertaining to the options contained in the Secretary-General's report will strengthen UNPROFOR and thereby enable it effectively to discharge as well as fully meet its mandate. In this regard, we recall that the OIC paper has elaborated the steps which UNPROFOR can take in order fully to fulfil its mandate.

We welcome the establishment of the rapid reaction capacity (RRC) under the command and control of the United Nations to assist UNPROFOR in the implementation of its mandate. UNPROFOR's mandate must be implemented robustly in order to maintain the credibility and dignity of the United Nations mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina. We believe that the RRC should also be used for the protection of the civilian population, particularly in the safe areas, with air support from the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), in addition to the protection of UNPROFOR personnel. The RRC should also establish land corridors for humanitarian aid. We feel that it is also timely for the Council now to act on the Secretary-General's earlier report on the safe areas by adopting the heavy option as compared to the present light option. We object to any move that would abandon the safe areas, and wish to insist that UNPROFOR should continue to protect the safe areas.

Resolution 836 (1993) permits UNPROFOR to use force to protect the safe areas and the civilians in them. The mandate is available for UNPROFOR and by extension NATO to neutralize weapons violating the safe areas. In this regard, it will be necessary to neutralize the surface-to-air missile systems deployed by the Pale Serbs. The recent downing of the NATO F-16 makes it necessary to take such action.

As for the exclusion zones, it should be recalled that the zone and weapons collection points were set up as an alternative to air strikes. However, if the weapons collection points in the context of reprisals against United Nations personnel become an obstacle to implementing

the exclusion zones, then these points should be abandoned and the weapons within them neutralized by air power. We also believe that it is necessary now to withdraw United Nations military observers, who have become pawns in the Serb strategy to embarrass the United Nations. The United Nations should not succumb to Serb blackmail, but has to review the role of the United Nations military observers.

My delegation also wishes to state in clear terms the need for security guarantees for the Bosnian Government in terms of its right to self-defence, as provided for in the United Nations Charter, including by lifting the arms embargo.

We are inclined to go along with the adoption of the draft resolution before the Council. This adoption, we hope, will contribute towards fully enforcing all relevant Security Council resolutions and act as an effective deterrent to any coercive measures or violence perpetrated against United Nations personnel and civilian populations in the safe areas.

Finally, it is equally important that all offers to strengthen the UNPROFOR presence in Bosnia and Herzegovina should not be sidelined as we proceed with the deployment of the RRC.

The President: I thank the representative of Malaysia for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Egypt. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Awaad (Egypt) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Allow me to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month. We are sure that, through your wisdom and skill, the work of the Council will be crowned with success as it considers the issues before it.

I should also like to congratulate your predecessor, the Permanent Representative of France, Ambassador Mérimée, on his efforts as President of the Security Council last month.

Allow me also to express my support for the statement we have just heard by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The Security Council is today considering the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which, having entered a new phase, threatens both the prestige of the United Nations and the credibility of the Security Council as the organ responsible for the implementation of the Charter. This is because the many resolutions adopted by the Council in the framework of Chapter VII have not been implemented and the Council has closed its eyes to this fact, even though the Charter gives it the right to use force, in the framework of collective security, in order to implement resolutions of international legality and to ensure equal respect for them by all States, large and small, in all parts of the world, without distinction and on an equal footing.

In the light of the Council's earlier resolutions, the current situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina requires the Council to take a strong position from which it can adopt firm resolutions and provide answers to the following questions.

First, have the provisions for halting the Serb aggression against the territories of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, including resolutions 757 (1992), 777 (1992) and others, been implemented?

Secondly, will the United Nations allow a State Member of the Organization to be annihilated through the forcible occupation of its territory by a party possessing a military arsenal enabling it to launch a military operation from which it continues to benefit through aggressive territorial expansion?

Thirdly, the contingents of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) were deployed to repel that aggression and ensure the protection of civilians. Have we provided them with the means to attain the noble objectives for which they were deployed?

Fourthly, the Council established the concept of "safe areas" in order to protect the unoccupied territories of Bosnia. Is the Council going to honour that commitment and try to overcome the difficulties resulting from the continued Serb occupation of these territories?

Fifthly, if the situation has worsened because of the Serb party's rejection of all international peace efforts and initiatives, will the international community allow the United Nations to renounce its role of putting an end to the crisis? Will the United Nations withdraw from the territory and leave the strong aggressor on an equal footing with the victim?

Sixthly, will the United Nations allow itself to turn a blind eye to the policy of racial, religious and political discrimination and the policy of "ethnic cleansing"?

The Egyptian delegation has studied with interest the Secretary-General's report submitted to the Council and we note that it contains a useful description of certain objective aspects of some earlier resolutions of the Council. However, the report also contains certain negative aspects on which we would like to comment, the most important of which are the following.

First of all, the Egyptian delegation agrees with the Secretary-General that we must highlight the importance of the credibility of the United Nations. Nevertheless, we wish to point out that in order to ensure that credibility, we must first apply the provisions of the Charter and implement the resolutions of the Security Council in order to force the intransigent Serb party to respect the norms of international legality. Thus, we shall be able to put an end to the threat to international peace and security before dealing with problems of development, environment and human rights, which, as pointed out in paragraph 82 of the report, cannot be solved unless the region enjoys peace and stability.

Secondly, to call for the demilitarization of the "safe areas", in accordance with the Geneva Conventions of 1949 and their Additional Protocols of 1979, will mean that the last remaining territories of Bosnia and Herzegovina will consist of defenceless, unarmed civilian populations subjugated under the Serb occupation. The international community must not accept this. The purpose of the "safe areas" is to provide international protection for the territories and their population, but their demilitarization will mean that they will be under the Serb forces' domination if the international forces withdraw or are unable to ensure their defence.

The argument that certain Government armed forces should be included in the demilitarization process is inadmissible. Those forces are there because the territories are an integral part of Bosnia and Herzegovina and were so even before the current conflict in the region began.

Thirdly, the options available to the Council must be studied in the light of the detailed information contained in the report on UNPROFOR's mandate, because the four options cannot be studied in isolation from other options and possibilities.

The third option would presuppose a strengthening of the mandate, but it would also mean modifying that mandate; this is not admissible because UNPROFOR's current mandate, as established by the Security Council, is sufficient. All that is needed is to ensure that there is a clear framework for the mandate and that UNPROFOR is given the operational means to accomplish its tasks.

Fourthly, Egypt supports the conclusions of the Secretary-General in paragraph 67 of his report to the effect that the international mediation efforts have come to a standstill and that the Security Council should therefore reassess the situation and adopt another initiative to relaunch the peace process.

Egypt is participating in UNPROFOR with military forces and also with military and police observers. We pay tribute to the courage of those forces, which are accomplishing noble humanitarian tasks. None the less, the delegation of Egypt reminds the Council and the Secretariat that Egypt has in the past offered — and is still prepared to provide — further contingents to strengthen UNPROFOR in Bosnia and Herzegovina and help it accomplish the many urgent tasks assigned to it by the Council: if the United Nations and the UNPROFOR command feel that there is a need for reinforcements, Egypt would be prepared to consider the possibility.

Egypt is gratified at NATO's initiative to establish a rapid reaction force that would enable UNPROFOR to defend the safe areas in particular and the population of Bosnia and Herzegovina in general; to restore the rule of international law; and to restore to the region the stability to which it aspires.

In conclusion, the delegation of Egypt regrets the fact that the question of Bosnia and Herzegovina has been mishandled from the outset: that mishandling is the reason why we are now all frustrated at the doubts expressed by many parties. That mishandling has also played into the hands of the Serbs and has encouraged them to defy the Security Council and its resolutions. If the Serbs keep this up, the international order will necessarily lose credibility and a double standard will have been established that cannot but compromise the position of the international community as a whole.

The President: I thank the representative of Egypt for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker is the Permanent Representative of Croatia. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Nobilo (Croatia): Mr. President, my delegation is pleased to see you presiding over the proceedings of the Security Council this month. We are confident that your understanding of the problems in our region and your generally recognized diplomatic skills will greatly contribute to the current and forthcoming deliberations of the Council.

I should also like to take this opportunity to pay a tribute to Ambassador Jean-Bernard Mérimée of France, under whose prudent guidance the Council deliberated during the month of May.

Croatia welcomes the efforts of the Security Council and the international community to bring about a just and peaceful solution to the crisis in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and will continue to contribute to this as much as possible under the circumstances. With this in mind, we support the draft resolution before us now in the sincere hope that it will benefit the peace process in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Croatia welcomes the establishment of the rapid reaction force and is ready to provide all the logistical support required for its successful deployment. It is our understanding that, while the rapid reaction force will use some command and logistic facilities on the territory of the Republic of Croatia, its theatre of operation will be exclusively on the territory of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Regarding the possible use of the rapid reaction force outside that theatre, the Croatian Government is of the firm view that any operational use of the rapid reaction force on the territory of the Republic of Croatia may proceed only after consultations with my Government, and with its prior approval and consent.

The President: I thank the Permanent Representative of Croatia for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Turkey. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Güven (Turkey): Mr. President, it gives me great pleasure to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. We are confident that, under your able guidance, the Council will successfully discharge its responsibilities.

I should also like to pay a tribute to Ambassador Jean-Bernard Mérimée of France for the remarkable manner in which he conducted the work of the Council in May.

Regrettably, three years after the beginning of the aggression against a State Member of the United Nations — the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina — the extremist Serbs in Pale are continuing their defiance of international law. The systematic, genocidal campaign pursued by the Pale Serbs continues unchecked. The Pale Serbs have intensified their terrorist attacks on the civilian population as well as on UNPROFOR personnel. The Pale Serbs have even declared null and void all the pertinent Security Council resolutions and NATO decisions. Nevertheless, the most important problem continues to be the failure of the international community to distinguish between the aggressors and the victims of their aggression.

The international community is committed, under numerous General Assembly and Security Council resolutions, to preserving the territorial integrity, unity and independence of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. UNPROFOR should implement its existing mandate fully and in keeping with this commitment. It cannot and should not continue to be a tool for a policy of appeasement.

As a troop-contributing country we attach great importance to the safety and security of United Nations personnel. However, we believe that priority number one was always, and continues to be, the protection of the civilian population of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Almost all Security Council resolutions on Bosnia and Herzegovina refer to Chapter VII of the Charter. The United Nations Force in Bosnia and Herzegovina was established as a protection force and has never, from the very outset, been a traditional peace-keeping force.

It is the strong conviction of my Government that UNPROFOR should be reinforced so that it has the capability to implement its existing mandate robustly and in full. The Turkish Minister of Defence therefore participated actively in the NATO and European Union Defence Ministers' meeting on 3 June in Paris, and supported the meeting's conclusions.

Turkey has also stated its readiness to contribute to the force that is to be created to provide UNPROFOR with a rapid reaction capability. Consequently, we believe

that the adoption of the draft resolution on UNPROFOR by the Council will be a step in the right direction. In this context, I should like to draw particular attention to the draft resolution's operative paragraph 9. We hope that a time has come when resolve and firmness will be demonstrated.

The defenceless civilian population in the strangulated and unsafe "safe" areas is coming under constant and brutal terrorist attacks. UNPROFOR's commitment to protect the safe areas pursuant to resolutions 824 (1993) and 836 (1993) has yet to be carried out. UNPROFOR must be strengthened in such a way as to enable it to act vigorously to deter attacks on the safe areas. Furthermore, humanitarian assistance to the safe areas should be secured by establishing land corridors.

It will soon be a full year that the Pale Serbs have been refusing to accept the five-nation Contact Group peace plan. This intransigent position on their part is the only stumbling-block in the way of credible peace negotiations.

Recognition by the former Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) of Bosnia and Herzegovina within its internationally recognized borders is also essential for a lasting peace. If Belgrade is sincere in its policy of isolating Pale, it should side with those Bosnian Serbs who want to live in a multicultural, multi-religious and democratic Bosnia and Herzegovina, not with those who long for an ethnically pure Greater Serbia. However, and regrettably, we still do not see any promising signs that Belgrade is moving in this direction.

If we want to restore the credibility of the United Nations, we should make a determined stand against terrorism and blackmail. Resolute action is long overdue.

The President: I thank the representative of Turkey for his kind words addressed to me.

It is my understanding that the Security Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it, as orally revised in its provisional form. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I shall first call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements before the voting.

Mr. Ayewah (Nigeria): Mr. President, today in Bosnia and Herzegovina we have in UNPROFOR a United Nations presence expected to keep the peace, render humanitarian assistance and promote a peaceful resolution of the conflict through political negotiation. Its performance of this task is premised on the cooperation of the parties to the conflict. Unfortunately, for most of its stay so far in Bosnia, it cannot be said that UNPROFOR has enjoyed the confidence and cooperation of both parties: its personnel have been deliberately targeted, resulting in an unusually high number of casualties. At other times, they have been harassed, held hostage, chained, detained, and thoroughly humiliated. UNPROFOR remains the most expensive United Nations peace-keeping operation, and yet the achievement of peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina remains a distant dream.

In essence, all the arguments in favour of a total withdrawal of the United Nations from Bosnia are present, yet we all agree that Bosnia should not be abandoned, that humanitarian assistance must continue to be rendered and that civilian populations must be protected to the extent possible. We also agree that the war must be contained, and that the credibility of the United Nations must not be allowed to suffer irreparably through a precipitate withdrawal. There lies the dilemma of the Security Council and of the international community.

If we compare this with other situations, we can see that to talk of having reached a turning-point in the Council's assessment of the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina would almost be an understatement. Indeed, my delegation believes that the turning-point has been passed beyond which UNPROFOR's ability to operate effectively, efficiently and safely in much of Bosnia and Herzegovina, on the basis of impartiality and the consent of all the parties, may be seriously compromised. The United Nations must therefore endeavour to maintain its neutrality and avoid falling down the slippery slope of becoming involved as a combatant in the field.

The crisis of the last two and a half weeks — following the air strikes — in which UNPROFOR personnel were detained by the Bosnian Serb forces, many of them in humiliating circumstances and in violation of international norms of military conduct, has been a source of great concern to my Government. It is concerned not only about the safety of those detained but about the image of the United Nations, and it is against this background that my delegation has carefully considered the recent report of the Secretary-General on the performance of UNPROFOR.

In examining this report, we took careful note of the key observations of the Secretary-General, which, *inter alia*, include a reference to the parties' lingering illusion that a military solution to the conflict is possible: UNPROFOR is not in Bosnia to end or to fight a war, but to create the necessary conditions for a negotiated settlement. Furthermore, a recurring refrain throughout the report is the emphasis the Secretary-General places on the need for the consent and cooperation of the parties if UNPROFOR is to discharge its duties.

A related notion is reflected in his remark that military protection serves primarily to dissuade random or unorganized attacks, and cannot substitute for the consent and cooperation of the parties. According to the Secretary-General,

> "consent and cooperation could be assured, in the midst of war, only by strict adherence to the peace-keeping principles of impartiality and transparency." (*S/1995/444, para. 56*)

In the absence of the required consent and cooperation, only limited measures are available to reduce the risks to the Force's personnel.

In his report, the Secretary-General has requested the Security Council to spell out UNPROFOR's mandate in Bosnia clearly and to also clarify the ambiguities surrounding its assigned tasks. In this connection, he has put forward four options for the future of UNPROFOR. The Council's current response — to increase the number of troops in Bosnia to protect UNPROFOR better and enhance its capability to discharge its duties — does not answer some of the pertinent questions that have been posed by the Secretary-General, nor would it, in our view, enhance UNPROFOR's performance of its duties in the long run, in the absence of a cease-fire, a cessation of hostilities, cooperation from both parties and an intensification of the political process.

Nevertheless, we have taken note of the assurance that in spite of the significant increase in the strength of UNPROFOR through the rapid reaction force, which would have the effect of changing its configuration as a peace-keeping operation, the status and impartiality of UNPROFOR will be maintained. Given my Government's view that countries in the region, particularly those with some leverage, have a primary responsibility in terms of initiatives to resolve this crisis, and given our commitment not to abandon Bosnia as it tries to defend its sovereignty and territorial integrity, my delegation will go along with the present draft resolution. In this context, we appreciate the readiness of the Governments of France, the United Kingdom and the Netherlands to provide up to 12,500 additional troops to augment UNPROFOR's strength. It is the hope of my Government that, while we are improving UNPROFOR's protection and capability, initiatives on the diplomatic political track will resume and be pursued with vigour. For only then will our decision today be considered an appropriate response to the situation.

In conclusion, we would like to restate our strong condemnation of all attacks on UNPROFOR personnel by whosoever committed. The taking of hostages constitutes an act of terrorism under international law, and it is unacceptable. We call on the parties, especially the Bosnian Serbs, to respect the status of United Nations personnel and to release forthwith and unconditionally those who are still being held. We also call on the parties to renounce the military option and to commit themselves to a resolution of the conflict through political agreement, for which the Contact Group Peace Plan serves as a good starting point.

Mr. Lavrov (Russian Federation) (*interpretation from Russian*): We look at the draft resolution in the general context of the situation in Bosnia and its possible future development, including from the point of view of continuing and enhancing the effectiveness of United Nations operations.

Nowadays it is often said that the lesson to be learned from the present escalation of the Bosnian crisis is that measures must be taken to prevent attacks against United Nations personnel. While we agree with the grounds for such measures, we think that the main lesson is far broader: that the use of force is not a panacea, and that decisive action is needed to achieve a breakthrough for a political settlement.

In our view, those clear conclusions were reflected in the report of the Secretary-General on the mandate of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR). One of the key ideas in the report relates to the need to draw a clear distinction between peace-keeping and peace enforcement operations. In considering the various options for the future of UNPROFOR, the Secretary-General has noted the advantages that could be gained by a return to a purely peace-keeping function for the operation. We think those arguments are very convincing.

We are convinced that, independent of the question of the draft resolution, the assessment set out in the report of the Secretary-General remains valid for the future work of the Council, and not just on the question of Bosnia. In principle, we favour enhancing the security of United Nations personnel, including through providing UNPROFOR with a rapid-reaction capability. Russia is as interested as others in ending the treacherous actions against peace-keeping personnel, whatever their source. But strengthening UNPROFOR's ability to protect the lives and safety of its peace-keepers should in no way make United Nations forces a party to the conflict.

It is of paramount importance that the draft resolution clearly calls for the maintenance of UNPROFOR's impartial, peace-keeping nature and for the retention of present decision-making procedures and rules of engagement. We are grateful to the sponsors for taking into account several of our other proposals as well, including that relating to the demilitarization of the safe areas. We call on both sides to facilitate the implementation of that idea, which would make it possible to prevent the emergence of hotbeds of tension around these areas and to prevent the possible misuse of their status, especially for preparing military attacks. It would also enhance the safety of the peaceful civilians living there. It is extremely important that, as stated in the draft resolution, measures to strengthen UNPROFOR should be implemented in consultation with all parties.

At the same time, some of our important proposed amendments were not taken into account. Specifically, the draft resolution does not manage to avoid the impression that the rapid reaction force is intended to operate against one of the Bosnian parties. We fully share the anger over inadmissible acts committed by Bosnian Serbs, to which the draft resolution refers in detail. But we cannot fail to note that the Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina too bears responsibility for provocations, for violating agreements and for direct attacks on UNPROFOR. Today not only the Serbs but Government forces of Bosnia and Herzegovina are blockading UNPROFOR peace-keepers.

A few days ago the Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina issued an ultimatum to the Canadian contingent near Visoko, demanding the withdrawal of two observation posts, which were then subjected to mortar and artillery fire. As we speak, Government forces of Bosnia and Herzegovina are attempting a massive attack in the Sarajevo region. We warned about this threat and proposed that the Security Council express its concern about this matter in the very text of the draft resolution. That proposal was not adopted.

We now face a serious escalation of the military situation in Bosnia. We have no doubt about the right of Governments to choose any policy. But if United Nations forces are in a country and if Security Council resolutions have been adopted on the matter, there is a concomitant obligation to implement the decisions of the Council.

We also proposed referring in the draft resolution to the inadmissible violations of the arms embargo in former Yugoslavia, including in Bosnia; that proposal was not accepted. These violations fuel the conflict, engender illusions about the possibility of resolving it by military means, and have a negative impact on the safety of the peace-keepers. The Security Council must take genuine steps to put an end to this heedless attitude towards resolution 713 (1991).

We are also concerned about the haste with which the draft resolution was brought before the Council. The Secretary-General's document on financial implications appeared only a few hours ago. But the main thing is that the Council did not have time to agree on reliable guarantees against attempts to use the rapid-reaction force to involve UNPROFOR in a war. Such attempts are already under way; we cannot ignore them.

We do not expect this to happen; we expect that the administration of the United Nations operation, which bears a great responsibility, will display the necessary wisdom and care in implementing the decision with respect to possible action by the rapid-reaction force and carefully take into account the possible consequences of any acts of force, so as not to allow further use of force in Bosnia or a repetition of the hostage crisis — and ultimately so as not to permit the situation to be played out according to the Somalia scenario.

We also expect that the main efforts of the administration of the United Nations operations will be focused on ensuring the cooperation of both parties, having them conclude a cease-fire agreement and putting a decisive end to hostilities.

In the light of all the circumstances which I have mentioned, Russia will be forced to abstain in the voting. At the same time, we feel that it is necessary once again to call quite seriously upon all parties to the conflict to forgo any attempt to resolve their differences on the

battlefield; rather, they should try to do so at the negotiating table.

As was indicated at the meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the Contact Group in the Netherlands, Russia assumes that it is necessary to make additional efforts to give a new impetus to the settlement process. In this context, the key issue is the question of ending the sanctions against Belgrade. The possibilities of the negotiating process have not been fully exhausted and we will continue to cooperate with all in a political settlement, especially with our partners here in the Security Council and in the Contact Group and with all who favour peace over war.

Mr. Wisnumurti (Indonesia): At the outset, I would like on behalf of the Indonesian delegation to express our sincere appreciation to the sponsors of the draft resolution. We are particularly grateful that the sponsors have responded to various suggestions and proposals submitted by a number of delegations, including the Caucus of the Non-Aligned Movement.

The draft resolution addresses many of the important issues raised by the Secretary-General in his report and his letter of 9 June 1995. We deeply appreciate the Secretary-General's comprehensive analysis of the implementation of the mandate of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) and his presentation of a set of options regarding its future role. The Council's consideration of these options and of concrete proposals to reinforce UNPROFOR evolved from these options, as outlined in the Secretary-General's letter did not, of course, take place in isolation from recent developments in the field. In this regard, my delegation is pleased to note that the draft resolution seeks to address both the long-established shortcomings of the peace-keeping missions and those which have been brought to the fore by recent developments.

The steady deterioration of the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina has served to bring into greater focus the many unacceptable facets of the conflict: obstruction of deliveries of humanitarian assistance, hostage taking, intensified and unprovoked attacks on safe areas and civilian population, as well as those on UNPROFOR personnel and, of course, the abhorrent policy of "ethnic cleansing". The Council has on many occasions pronounced its condemnation of these acts in unmistakable terms, which are exemplified in the draft resolution.

The draft, however, goes beyond expressions of condemnation and concern. Its basic thrust is to provide UNPROFOR with the necessary means more effectively to implement its mandate. This is a paramount objective which my delegation fully endorses. The establishment of the rapid reaction force is an important step in giving UNPROFOR increased tactical and operational flexibility in the field that will enable it more effectively to protect safe areas and civilian populations, protect UNPROFOR personnel, ensure unimpeded access for humanitarian assistance, in particular in the safe areas, and perform other duties in accordance with its mandate. Furthermore, we attach special significance to the fact that the rapid reaction force will be an integral part of the United Nations peace-keeping operation.

In this context, the Council must do its utmost to ensure that the decision it is about to take today will make significant and positive contributions towards altering the unacceptable status quo. We realize that the support and cooperation of the parties concerned is a prerequisite for any peace-keeping operation. However, throughout UNPROFOR's presence in Bosnia and Herzegovina, this requirement has been manipulated by the Bosnian Serbs, thereby incrementally eroding the authority of the Force. Such brazen tactics should not be continuously responded to either by inaction or by appeasement; rather, they should be addressed with decisiveness to ensure the effective implementation of Security Council resolutions. This is indispensable if UNPROFOR is to maintain its credibility.

One of the most important tasks of UNPROFOR is to protect safe areas from armed attacks or any other hostile acts. Lately, we have witnessed incessant and indiscriminate attacks on the civilian population by the Bosnian Serbs, particularly in Sarajevo, which have resulted in civilian casualties. Consequently, it has become increasingly obvious that the safe areas have become unsafe areas. For this reason, the deployment of a rapid reaction force should address, in particular, the issue of enhancing UNPROFOR's capability in insuring the security of the civilian population.

We are cognizant of the calls for the demilitarization of safe areas as a means to enhance the protection of the civilian population therein. My delegation believes, however, that demilitarization which is confined to the safe areas is inherently unjust, since it is tantamount to depriving the victims of the necessary means to protect themselves while leaving the aggressors free to continue and intensify their wanton attacks from the surrounding

areas and thereby strengthening the military advantage of the Bosnian Serbs. This will provide the aggressors with the incentive to further encroach upon the territorial integrity of Bosnia and Herzegovina and renew their campaign of "ethnic cleansing". It is in this context that the Non-Aligned Movement Caucus has proposed that demilitarization based on mutual agreements should apply not only to the safe areas, but also to their immediate surroundings. My delegation is pleased to note that the sponsors have agreed to this proposal, as reflected in the draft resolution.

In this connection, it is essential to emphasize that agreement on demilitarization of safe areas and their immediate surroundings should be arrived at with due regard for the need to respect the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, including its right to defend itself, as alluded to in the draft resolution.

Finally, my delegation would like to stress that, while we support a more robust UNPROFOR, it is imperative that a search for a political settlement be vigorously pursued, as emphasized in the draft resolution. In this context, we support the demand that the Bosnian Serb party accept the peace plan proposed by the Five-Nation Contact Group.

My delegation expresses the hope that the adoption of the draft resolution will create a climate conducive to reaching agreement on a cease-fire and a complete cessation of hostilities in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which would facilitate the efforts to reach a comprehensive political settlement.

In this light, my delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution.

Mr. Rendón Barnica (Honduras) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegation of Honduras wishes first of all to thank the Secretary-General for his report submitted pursuant to Security Council resolutions 982 (1995) and 987 (1995). The report deals realistically and frankly with the central aspects of the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as with the factors that have led to the virtual paralysis in the fulfilment of the objectives of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR).

The recent tragic events in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which followed the conclusion of the agreement on a cessation of hostilities and which, regrettably, led to the resumption of military action and the loss of precious human lives in the "safe areas" of Sarajevo, Banja Luka and Tuzla and to a situation of insecurity for the United Nations personnel that make up UNPROFOR, demonstrated the parties lack of will to resolve the conflict by peaceful means as well as their inaccurate assessment of UNPROFOR's objectives in that country. These facts have brought home to the Council the need to conduct a review of the peace-keeping operation in Bosnia and Herzegovina so that, while making its personnel less vulnerable, it can also enhance their capacity to fulfil UNPROFOR's objectives.

In his report the Secretary-General points out with great clarity and precision the main obstacles to the attainment of the purposes for which UNPROFOR was established. One of the main obstacles, as I have already said, is the parties' lack of will to reach a solution to the conflict through peaceful negotiation. Another obstacle is the lack of desire to cooperate with the United Nations peace-keeping operation, which consequently finds itself with limited scope for action, exposed to constant criticism and attacks from both sides. The persistence of this crisis therefore makes it necessary to adapt the United Nations operation to the political realities and circumstances prevailing in Bosnia and Herzegovina in an effort to relaunch the peace process.

The purpose of UNPROFOR is to keep the peace, not impose it. A revision of UNPROFOR's mandate in order to allow it to take military action without the cooperation of one of the parties or to ensure the protection of its own personnel was not a viable possibility. This would have distorted its objectives without ensuring cooperation by the parties and would also have run the risk that the parties might take more radical positions and that they might consider the United Nations presence in the country to be biased.

Taking all these aspects into account, my delegation studied the proposal for the integration of a rapid reaction force under United Nations command and available to UNPROFOR as a solution that would help the operation fulfil its mandate, maintain security for its units, help its redeployment and facilitate its movements. My delegation supports this proposal not only because its objective is to strengthen UNPROFOR's capacity to fulfil it mandate while reducing the risk to its personnel, but also because, above all, it will continue to be a peace-keeping operation.

In his report the Secretary-General refers to the deficiencies inherent in the "safe area" regime, which limit UNPROFOR's capacity to carry out its mandate effectively and to prevent deliberate attacks originating from and directed against these areas. In his report of 1 December 1994 the Secretary-General had already pointed out that in order to apply the "safe area" concept successfully, it was necessary to accept, among other things, the fundamental principle that the purpose of the "safe areas" is to protect the civilian population and not to defend territories or military positions and that UNPROFOR's protection of these areas is not intended to make UNPROFOR a party to the conflict. The Secretary-General stated that in order to achieve the primary objective of the "safe areas" — the protection of the civilian population and the handing over of territories — it was necessary to change the present regime, including norms for the delimitation of the areas and their complete demilitarization. He also said that the capacity of one of the parties to maintain its troops, weapons and military installations inside a "safe area" results in a situation that is in itself unstable and that encourages attacks by the opposing party, and that the use of force by UNPROFOR to repel that type of attack in defence of the "safe areas" is inevitably interpreted as taking sides in the conflict, which has a destabilizing effect throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina.

These views, which we share, were reiterated by the Secretary-General in his report of last 30 May. We believe the military presence of the parties in the "safe areas" or the launching of attacks from or against them is totally inconsistent with the fundamental principles that should govern these areas and, in essence, are one of the causes of the current situation of destabilization in the region and the risky, difficult situation now facing UNPROFOR in the fulfilment of its mandate. We must therefore express our agreement with the provisions of the draft resolution we are going to vote on, as it highlights the need to demilitarize the "safe areas" by mutual agreement.

My delegation also shares the views of the Council of General Affairs of the European Union, as contained in its declaration on the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, adopted last 29 May. The deliberate bombardment of the civilian population in the "safe areas" and the taking of United Nations soldiers and observers as hostages are completely unacceptable acts that must be condemned by the entire international community. The persons still being held must be released immediately and unconditionally. We recognize that the work done by UNPROFOR personnel is difficult and dangerous, and we wish to express to them our respect for their courage and dedication.

I wish to conclude by saying that my delegation is a co-sponsor of the present draft resolution because it contains the elements that we consider essential for resolving the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina: it asserts that it is only through peaceful means that the parties can arrive at a lasting solution, it appeals to the parties to cooperate effectively with the United Nations mission, it ensures the protection of UNPROFOR personnel and the capacity of UNPROFOR to fulfil its mandate, it addresses the problems of the "safe areas" realistically and it urges the parties to negotiate a cease-fire and a cessation of hostilities by making it clear to them that there can be no military solution to the conflict. My delegation will therefore vote in favour of the draft resolution in the hope that its adoption will contribute substantially to the attainment of reconciliation and peace in the region of the Balkans.

Mr. Qin Huasun (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): The Chinese delegation has been following closely the developments in Bosnia and Herzegovina and is deeply sympathetic with the Bosnian people in the sufferings brought on them by war. We sincerely hope to see an early end to the conflict and war there.

The Bosnian crisis is now at a critical moment. It is therefore imperative for the international community and all the parties concerned to do whatever they can to ensure that the cease-fire be restored between the parties in Bosnia and Herzegovina, all hostilities, bloodshed and conflicts be stopped and a solution acceptable to all be found through patient and pragmatic negotiations so that the cease-fire will become a lasting peace and a new stable peace mechanism will be established in Bosnia and Herzegovina. At the same time, we wish to reiterate that any solution should ensure the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and that the legitimate rights and interests of all ethnic groups in Bosnia and Herzegovina should be fully respected.

A United Nations peace-keeping operation, as the name indicates, is for the purpose of keeping peace rather than fighting. United Nations peace-keeping efforts should therefore be aimed at creating conditions for peace rather than aggravating crises. This is the fundamental starting point and ultimate objective of the Security Council in making decisions on peace-keeping operations. The draft resolution before us calls for the establishment a rapid reaction force in Bosnia and Herzegovina under Chapter VII of the Charter. The establishment of this force is for the purpose of enforcement actions and brings about a de facto change to the peace-keeping status

of UNPROFOR. Once the force is put into operation, it is bound to become a party to the conflict, thus depriving UNPROFOR of its status as a peace-keeping force. There have already been important lessons for United Nations peace-keeping operations in this regard, and one should avoid committing similar errors.

However, while the ambiguity in the mandate of UNPROFOR referred to in the Secretary-General's report still exists, calls have been made consistently to expand UNPROFOR further before certain major issues are resolved, in total disregard of the basic principles governing peace-keeping operations. This trend, if it continues, will not help settle the question of Bosnia and Herzegovina, but rather will severely damage the credibility of the Security Council and the United Nations as a whole, which cannot but cause grave concern.

We are of the view that the establishment of a rapid reaction force will lead to many political and military complications. Moreover, it will substantially increase United Nations peace-keeping expenditure. At a time when the United Nations is in a financial crisis, it is all the more necessary for the Security Council to act within the means available to it, without wilfully increasing the burden of the States Members of the United Nations. It is therefore neither appropriate nor desirable to finance the establishment of the rapid reaction force from the United Nations peace-keeping budget. According to the amended text, financing modalities will be determined later. This is unprecedented in the history of United Nations peace-keeping operations and may not prove beneficial to this operation either.

It is on this basis that we repeatedly put forward an amendment on this issue in the informal consultations. However, our reasonable amendment was not fully accepted, which the Chinese delegation regrets.

The Chinese delegation cannot support this draft resolution, since many of its elements run counter to our principled position, a position which we wish to place on record. However, taking into account the fact that many developing countries wish the Security Council to take appropriate measures to alleviate the very pressing crisis in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as the fact that the draft resolution stresses the importance of a political settlement to the Bosnian question and of protecting the security of United Nations peace-keeping personnel and that it has incorporated some of our amendments, the Chinese delegation will abstain on the draft resolution before us.

Mr. Legwaila (Botswana): The Secretary-General's report (S/1995/444) provides a candid and honest assessment of the latest developments in Bosnia and Herzegovina. We have noted in particular, and carefully studied, the options that he outlined and the analysis of their implications. The crisis in Bosnia has indeed put the reputation and credibility of the United Nations on the line, and it is right for the Secretary-General to alert the Security Council to the wider ramifications of the situation in that country.

Botswana has never been attracted to the option of withdrawing the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) from Bosnia. Botswana has in the past resisted the withdrawal of the United Nations peace-keeping operations elsewhere, and we are not about to accept the abandonment of the people of Bosnia in their hour of peril. The international community has a moral responsibility to help in any way possible the innocent people of Bosnia and Herzegovina. However, the actions of the parties, particularly those of the Serbs, have not inspired confidence in us in the past, and there is no reason to expect them to behave differently in the future. They have made no fresh, credible commitments to cooperate with UNPROFOR, and, even if they did, would we really believe them? Yet this is absolutely necessary if UNPROFOR is successfully to execute its mandate. The onus to make peace or wage war rests with the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina — both Bosnians and Serbs — and not with the Security Council. If they choose war, as they increasingly seem inclined to do, they should know that the United Nations presence in their country is incompatible with the ends of war.

The spectacle of United Nations peace-keepers taken hostage, some of them tied to poles like sacrificial lambs, has outraged my delegation beyond belief. It has always been unacceptable to us that UNPROFOR troops often have been targeted for attack by the parties to the conflict in Bosnia and openly criticized and condemned by those they are supposed to be helping maintain peace, but for the Serbs to actually chain them to poles, bridges and other objects was the worst humiliation of United Nations personnel and a callous demonstration of total disrespect for the authority of the United Nations. The Bosnian Serbs should unconditionally release the United Nations peace-keepers they are still holding hostage and remove all the restrictions they have placed on those they have blockaded.

The pertinent question to raise concerning this issue, as does the Secretary-General in paragraph 60 of his report, is:

> "whether UNPROFOR is to be a peace-keeping operation, conducting itself in accordance with the established principles and practices for such operations, or an enforcement operation" *(S/1995/444, para. 60)*.

This question is central to the continued presence of UNPROFOR in Bosnia. We had hoped that the debate on this rather intractable question would have featured more prominently in the draft resolution before us, given that the Mission, as presently configured and operated, does not enjoy the full cooperation of the parties to the conflict - an indispensable condition in peace-keeping. Unfortunately, the situation on the ground seems to have dictated differently. We have decided to increase the number of troops in the field, complete with a rapid reaction capacity, and to put at their disposal enough fire-power to defend themselves more robustly.

The basic complicating factor in the Bosnian conflict is the absence of a cease-fire. There can be no peace-keeping without a cease-fire, because if there is no cease-fire, there is no peace to keep.

We have nothing against strengthening the United Nations force in Bosnia. We are, however, a little concerned about the possibility of UNPROFOR getting engulfed in that senseless and wasteful war. We have taken note of the fact that the rapid-reaction force will operate under peace-keeping rules of engagement. There are still, however, lingering questions begging to be asked. A simple one is: have we drawn any lessons from the troubles that have brought us to this terrible pass? And under what circumstances exactly would the rapid-reaction force be called in? Is NATO air power still relevant, or has it been superseded by the rapid-reaction force? How are we going to treat the parties if they continue to behave in the way they have behaved in the past? Are we now going to engage them militarily? And are the UNPROFOR troops going to be quartered in large camps *à la* Somalia in order to afford them protection?

Here are some more questions: what will be the parties' perception of this rapid-reaction force? Have we ascertained their perceptions? Will they treat it as impartial? In his report, the Secretary-General has attributed the current crisis in the implementation of the mandate of the United Nations mission in Bosnia to attempts to make it serve the purposes of both peace-keeping and peace-enforcement. In our present efforts to enhance the capacity of UNPROFOR to better implement its mandate, we should guard against creating the perception in the eyes of the parties to the conflict that UNPROFOR is a peace-enforcement mission, which it is not and should not be.

All these questions and the concerns we have raised cannot detract from our sympathy with the Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina, a Government we recognize. We have voted in favour of all Security Council and General Assembly resolutions condemning the Serb forces. We are also very much aware — painfully aware, in fact — that the Government of Bosnia has accepted the Contact Group peace plan and that the Serbs have rejected it. Had the Serbs accepted the plan, it is likely that Bosnia would not be in the kind of terrible situation in which it is today.

We wish the new-look UNPROFOR were operating under different conditions than those that currently obtain on the ground. I must repeat: a cease-fire is a must, because you cannot keep peace where there is no cease-fire, where hostilities continue unabated. If there is no cease-fire, our efforts in Bosnia will continue to be futile. We wish the men and women of UNPROFOR success in the tasks ahead. Theirs has thus far been an impossible task.

Mr. Kovanda (Czech Republic): The disparity between the objectives and the mandate of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR), on the one hand, and the wherewithal at its disposal, on the other has always been one of the most vexing problems bedeviling that operation. In seeking compliance with Security Council resolutions, and indeed in protecting its own personnel, UNPROFOR has had a widely bifurcated choice between two options: its own persuasive abilities, and air power.

UNPROFOR's persuasive abilities, never a terribly strong choice, have been dissipating with every additional failure, with every additional concession. And yet UNPROFOR leadership demonstrated a marked reluctance, a distaste even, for employing air power, a reluctance that bothered many observers, who felt it overly cautious. As events of the past weeks have demonstrated, that caution was appropriate. From the military point of view, UNPROFOR indeed turned out to be extremely vulnerable, and the Bosnian Serb hostage-taking demonstrated that for all to see.

The taking of hostages is reprehensible and despicable. It has been described as a terrorist act, and we agree with that description. It cannot be tolerated by the international community. The hostage crisis is a crisis for all of UNPROFOR at least, and is the main reason why the Czech Republic supports, indeed has joined in sponsoring, the draft resolution before the Council.

On the initiative of France and Britain, the two countries whose UNPROFOR contingents are the largest, and of the Netherlands, we are now authorizing the sending of a rapid-reaction force which will bring into better alignment the mandate of UNPROFOR and the means at its disposal. A tank or an armoured personnel carrier is surely the appropriate instrument to assure safe passage in sniper or ambush territory or to remove obstacles to the delivery of humanitarian supplies, the kind of instrument we have always needed. It will not help with the release of the hostages who are still in captivity, who include two of our nationals, but surely it will prevent a repetition of such action. In this respect, the rapid-reaction force fills the space between persuasion and air power.

Several aspects of this draft resolution are important for us: it preserves the peace-keeping nature of UNPROFOR. It is easy to argue — now, regrettably and alarmingly, perhaps even more than at other times — that in Bosnia and Herzegovina there is no peace to keep. But the important aspect is that, peace or not, UNPROFOR is not turning into a peacemaking or a peace-enforcement operation. For this reason, too, we are satisfied that Chapter VII of the Charter is invoked only in the context of UNPROFOR's self-defence and freedom of movement, and that the draft resolution is in this regard not breaking any new ground. We also reiterate the impartial status of UNPROFOR. The Security Council, thus, through this draft resolution would emphasize once again that peaceful negotiations, not war, are the way to settle the conflict; peaceful negotiations which should take the Contact Group peace plan as a starting point.

We are happy to have the very welcome agreement of the Government of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina with the deployment of the rapid-reaction force — and from the legal point of view, no other party can veto it, of course. However, practical considerations make it necessary that conversations and contacts should proceed with all parties, in order to win their acquiescence, if not their agreement, at least *ex post facto* if not in advance. We encourage the Secretary-General to proceed with efforts along these lines.

Mrs. Albright (United States of America): The United States supports the establishment of a rapid-reaction force within the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR), and we will materially support its deployment and its operations. UNPROFOR must be able to defend itself if it is to implement its mandate in full. It is vital that UNPROFOR remain, and be effective, in Bosnia.

As the events of recent weeks have demonstrated so vividly, UNPROFOR is vulnerable, and, as a consequence, its mission is vulnerable. We were outraged at the seizure of hostages, and we call for the unconditional release of those still being held. We are determined to take steps to prevent such incidents of illegality and obstruction from happening again. The brave men and women of UNPROFOR and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) are performing difficult humanitarian tasks amidst great danger; they are striving to keep alive the possibility of a negotiated end to this conflict without further bloodshed; they deserve protection. We are supporting the deployment of a rapid-reaction force for the purpose of providing that protection and to make UNPROFOR better able to carry out its mandate on behalf of the international community and the Bosnian people.

We have no illusions about the difficulties UNPROFOR faces, even as its defensive capabilities are enhanced. The responsibility for allowing UNPROFOR to operate safely and effectively falls squarely on those parties who would interfere with its operations. But despite interference, and despite the unsatisfactory nature of the current situation, my Government still believes that the continued presence of UNPROFOR provides the best opportunity to keep this conflict from spreading and the best chance for avoiding further destruction and civilian deaths.

I have spoken of the responsibility of the parties, in the plural, but I am not speaking here of moral equivalence. The Bosnian Serbs are the party that has taken United Nations personnel hostage in gross violation of international law. It is the Bosnian Serbs who have committed the greatest violence against non-military targets. It is the Bosnian Serbs who have been guilty most frequently of obstructing the delivery of humanitarian supplies. And it is the Bosnian Serbs who have consistently rejected the Contact Group plan.

My Government supports establishment of the rapid reaction force, but we cannot do so honestly without

confronting squarely the substantial funding implications that such a decision entails. My Government requested a modification to the draft resolution because we strongly believe that the costs of the rapid reaction force should not be financed through the assessment process. We vote in favour of this draft resolution on the clear understanding that by doing so we are not incurring any direct financial obligation. To put the matter simply, in a time of serious budgetary cutbacks we are not now prepared to pay the lion's share of the cost of expanding this Force.

As Members of the Council know, the issue of financing United Nations peace-keeping operations on a satisfactory and timely basis is troublesome. The primary reason is UNPROFOR, which is the largest and most complex peace-keeping force the United Nations has ever mounted. Its size and expense affects the United Nations ability to budget for its other peace-keeping operations. Furthermore, the normal peace-keeping assessment regime, created for a very different set of circumstances, may no longer be adequate to the task of supporting UNPROFOR. To rationalize the entire process, my Government believes that we must re-examine urgently the way in which UNPROFOR is funded. Indeed, nothing in this draft resolution precludes consideration by the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions and the Fifth Committee of a voluntary payment mechanism for the rapid reaction force.

When the rapid reaction force for Bosnia was first proposed, it was our understanding that it would be financed outside normal peace-keeping assessment procedures, and we so informed our Congress and our public. In the British, French and Dutch proposal annexed to the Secretary-General's letter of 9 June, we learned that our allies sought payment through normal peace-keeping assessments. We have been struggling with that request ever since.

Although we are voting in favour of this draft resolution today, we want to make it very clear that we are not endorsing that passage in the annex to the Secretary-General's letter of 9 June that proposes payment through normal United Nations peace-keeping assessments. There are other methods to finance a force of this kind. The normal peace-keeping method stated in the annex is an expression of intent by the British, French and Dutch Governments; it does not represent my Government's position; and the draft resolution makes it clear that the Council has yet to decide how this force will be funded.

Because we do support the early deployment of the force, we will need to work out suitable financing in the days ahead. In doing so, we should bear in mind, my Government believes, the extraordinary funding requirements of UNPROFOR, particularly in comparison with any other single peace-keeping operation or even all others combined. For that reason, we simply cannot conduct business as usual when it comes to expanding this mission.

We are prepared to discuss the options with an open mind. Perhaps participating nations could take the lead in paying their own way and forgoing reimbursement. Perhaps a voluntary fund could be established to help cover some of the costs. These and other ideas are worth exploring. What is important is doing so seriously and soon.

In summary, then, my Government supports deployment of a rapid reaction force for the purpose of defending UNPROFOR personnel and enabling the peace-keeping mission to fulfil its mandate in a more robust and successful fashion. But, because of the enormous cost of UNPROFOR and the current budgetary situation in Washington, the United States cannot agree to funding the rapid deployment force through the normal United Nations peace-keeping assessment process. Nevertheless, we stand ready to consider all reasonable alternatives.

The President: The Council will now proceed to the vote on the draft resolution contained in document S/1995/478, as orally revised in its provisional form.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Argentina, Botswana, Czech Republic, France, Germany, Honduras, Indonesia, Italy, Nigeria, Oman, Rwanda, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

Against:

None

Abstaining:

China, Russian Federation

The President: The result of the voting is as follows: 13 in favour, none against and 2 abstentions. The draft resolution, as orally revised in its provisional form, has been adopted as resolution 998 (1995).

I shall now call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Sir David Hannay (United Kingdom): Two and a half months ago this Council voted to continue the presence of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in Bosnia. At that time I said that my Government was increasingly concerned by the slide towards an intensified war, that this would increase the difficulties that UNPROFOR faced and that it might even call into question its ability to remain.

The events of the last few weeks have shown all too clearly how easy it is for matters to escalate rapidly. UNPROFOR has been blocked at every turn from pursuing its mandate — the mandate which both parties had previously accepted. It has been intimidated and attacked; its personnel have been taken hostage. It is even being denied the ability to resupply its own troops in the eastern enclaves. We strongly condemn the taking of hostages and other actions against UNPROFOR personnel which obstruct it from doing its job. We demand the immediate and unconditional release of all remaining hostages and call for UNPROFOR to be given full freedom of movement throughout its area of operations.

It is against this background that my Government and those of France, the Netherlands and other countries have decided to offer reinforcements to UNPROFOR. We therefore welcome the adoption of this resolution, of which my country was a sponsor, authorizing the necessary increase in the UNPROFOR force ceiling to allow those reinforcements to deploy. The adoption of this resolution is a clear demonstration of international resolve and commitment to the work of the United Nations in Bosnia. These reinforcements mean that for the first time the United Nations commanders will have at their disposal a credible rapid reaction capability. It will strengthen UNPROFOR's ability to defend itself, increase the range of options open to the United Nations commanders to respond robustly against attacks on UNPROFOR, and facilitate UNPROFOR's ability to carry out its mandate effectively, including to resupply its own troops.

These reinforcements will be an integral part of the existing United Nations peace-keeping operation and will be under the existing United Nations chain of command, functioning within the existing mandate. But let me make it clear that UNPROFOR's mission remains one of peace-keeping. It is there to assist the delivery of humanitarian aid, to assist the parties in developing and implementing cease-fire agreements on the ground and to help provide a breathing space for the political process. It is not there to go to war with either side.

Some have suggested that the decision by my Government and others to send reinforcements reflects a hidden agenda: to bring about the withdrawal of UNPROFOR. Withdrawal is not our objective. We are determined to do everything possible to ensure that UNPROFOR is able to remain in Bosnia. But, ultimately, whether it does so is up to the parties themselves. UNPROFOR can only be successful if it has the continued consent and cooperation of all sides. If the parties instead insist on embracing the military option, if UNPROFOR is prevented from carrying out its tasks or if it faces unacceptable risks, then there may be no choice but to withdraw UNPROFOR.

But let us be very clear: UNPROFOR's withdrawal will not be an easy or a pain-free option. Those who contemplate withdrawal must think very carefully about the humanitarian consequences and the wider implications for the security of the region.

We applaud the efforts of the United Nations commanders on the ground and their troops in maintaining a firm line throughout the current crisis. We also salute the fortitude of those peace-keepers who have been detained.

I must now refer to the amendment to paragraph 10 of the resolution. My delegation has been able to accept the addition of the words at the end of that paragraph both because it understands the domestic political difficulties which the delegation of the United States is facing at this moment and also in order to avoid any conceivable interpretation that today's decision has in itself imposed an exact and specific financial obligation on any State.

But it must be clear to all of us that the Security Council has no *locus* to take decisions in financial questions. The Charter reserves to the General Assembly the responsibility for budgetary and financial matters. In our view, therefore, the amendment of paragraph 10 does not and cannot change the financial procedures followed by this Organization. The Secretary-General said in paragraph 3 of the financial addendum to his letter of 9 June that he will recommend to the General Assembly that the costs relating to the reinforcement of UNPROFOR should be considered an expense of the Organization to be borne by Member States, in accordance with Article 17, paragraph 2, of the Charter.

It is the understanding of my delegation that the Secretary-General will proceed in the well-established manner and present to the General Assembly at the earliest opportunity, in accordance with his statement in the financial addendum, estimates for the cost of the activities of the reinforcement which we are approving in today's resolution. Indeed, paragraph 9 of the resolution makes it clear that we are approving this reinforcement on the terms set out in the Secretary-General's letter. The General Assembly will then exercise its Charter responsibilities under Article 17, paragraph 2, in the normal way.

UNPROFOR is a means to an end, not an end in itself. The overriding objective must remain a political settlement to the conflict in Bosnia. UNPROFOR, even with its increased rapid reaction capability, cannot impose peace against the parties' will if they are determined to pursue war. There are alarming reports of a build-up of Bosnian Government troops to the north of Sarajevo. We acknowledge the Bosnian Government's frustration. For months progress towards a political settlement has been blocked by the intransigence of the Bosnian Serbs and their refusal to accept the Contact Group plan as a starting point for negotiations. But we are convinced that neither side will ultimately be able to impose a military settlement. That is why it is essential to reinvigorate diplomatic efforts, to inject new momentum into the search for a negotiated settlement and to bring about the Bosnian Serb acceptance of the Contact Group plan as a starting point. We call upon Belgrade to take further steps to promote the peace process. We welcome the recent appointment of Mr. Bildt as European Union Co-Chairman of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia, and we call upon all parties to cooperate unreservedly with him and with Mr. Stoltenberg in their efforts to reach a settlement.

Mr. Mérimée (France) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation heartily welcomes the adoption of resolution 998 (1995), on the strengthening of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR). It was essential for the Council to act swiftly in order to make possible the prompt deployment of elements of the rapid reaction force proposed by the United Kingdom, France and the Netherlands.

As the Council knows, the Governments of those three countries, faced with the grave deterioration of the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina — the systematic impeding of the delivery of humanitarian assistance, the blockading of the Sarajevo airport, attacks against UNPROFOR personnel, the taking of UNPROFOR personnel as hostages and attacks against the civilian population — decided that the only possible response was to provide UNPROFOR with new means, for twin objectives. The first is to better assure the security of its personnel. It was inadmissible that UNPROFOR personnel should continue to be subjected to threats, restrictions on their freedom of action, detention or direct attacks as they carried out their functions. The United Nations soldiers could not continue to live in that state of constant insecurity and humiliation. The second objective is to enable UNPROFOR to fulfil its mission. In this regard, it was necessary to give the military commanders in the field a broader range of means to react. At present they can choose only between endless — and usually fruitless — negotiations with the parties and resort to air power.

I would like to emphasize in this respect that the nature of the United Nations operation in Bosnia and Herzegovina will not be changed. There will be no change in UNPROFOR's mandate or in its rules of engagement. The elements of the rapid reaction force will act in support of UNPROFOR within the framework of its mandate. They will be placed within the existing United Nations chain of command. Their tasks will be set by the commanders of the United Nations peace force and UNPROFOR on the ground. The missions of the rapid reaction force will consist essentially of emergency actions to help isolated or threatened units or to help in the redeployment of UNPROFOR elements in order to make them less vulnerable or facilitate their freedom of movement, which is so essential.

The resolution the Council has just adopted contains a provision that the modalities of financing will be determined later. To our mind, this is not a matter of bypassing the usual rules for financing peace-keeping operations, nor is it an attempt to undermine the prerogatives of the General Assembly. We understand that this provision simply means that it is not up to the Council itself to establish the modalities for financing for an operation it decides upon. It goes without saying that the deployment of additional troops must not be delayed because of this.

Faced with UNPROFOR's serious difficulties on the ground, the impossibility of its carrying out its missions and the attacks to which it has been subjected, the Governments of France, the United Kingdom and the Netherlands, rather than electing to withdraw from Bosnia and Herzegovina, proposed that additional means be made available to the United Nations. The resolution the Council has just adopted will have to be implemented

quickly if we want to make UNPROFOR less vulnerable and enable it to carry out its mandate: to assure the delivery of humanitarian assistance, see that the safe areas are respected and monitor current or future agreements on a cease-fire and a cessation of hostilities.

My Government expects the new means made available to the United Nations in Bosnia and Herzegovina to be used judiciously, but not weakly. The humiliation of UNPROFOR personnel must cease, and the United Nations mandate must henceforth be carried out. France will not remain in Bosnia and Herzegovina unless its soldiers can maintain their pride and honour and serve effectively in the cause of peace.

I would like to emphasize in this connection that strengthening UNPROFOR and improving its conditions for carrying out its mandate, thus making it possible for United Nations contingents to remain in Bosnia and Herzegovina, have only one purpose: to promote the pursuit of the peace process by stabilizing the situation and by facilitating a cessation of hostilities. From this standpoint, it is essential that the parties understand that there is no military solution to the conflict and that they should refrain from taking any action that might lead to an escalation, which would endanger the chances for a peaceful solution. It is just as important that the party that has not yet done so accept the Contact Group plan as a starting point for any overall political solution.

My Government is determined that the sacrifices it has made thus far and the new efforts to which it is prepared to commit itself must not be in vain. It will spare no effort to restart the negotiation process and will fully support all initiatives to that end.

Mr. Ferrarin (Italy): Italy welcomes the Security Council's adoption of today's resolution, which follows the Secretary-General's recommendation to establish a rapid reaction capacity, as proposed by France, the United Kingdom and the Netherlands. This resolution aims to allow the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) to implement its mandate in a more satisfactory manner and authorizes an increase in the operation's personnel such as to include this new force. I would recall that the Italian Government has expressed its willingness to provide this capacity with its full support.

Italy has always believed that the continued presence of UNPROFOR is indispensable to foster political stability and provide support for humanitarian relief to a population so brutally victimized by a long and ruthless conflict. We also believe that the establishment of a rapid reaction capacity is a prerequisite to reinvigorating the action of UNPROFOR and to fully restoring its effectiveness and credibility, which have been steadily undermined by the failure of the parties — especially the Bosnian Serbs — to collaborate.

This gradual process of deterioration in the situation and in the conditions in which UNPROFOR is called on to perform its activities culminated in the Bosnian Serbs' taking hundreds of Blue Helmets as hostages. This act defies all international laws, and we firmly condemn it, as we do the Bosnian Serbs' heinous practice of attacking the defenceless population in the safe areas. While we express our satisfaction over the recent release of most of the hostages and note the positive role of mediation and persuasion played by the Belgrade Government, we hereby request the Pale authorities immediately to free all UNPROFOR personnel they still detain.

Today's resolution emphasizes, and rightly so, that there can be no military solution to the Bosnian conflict. This is why we believe that the reinforcement of UNPROFOR being decided on today cannot be separated from a vigorous relaunching of the negotiation process. We thus request all the Bosnian parties to renounce attempts at military solutions, which would inevitably cause terrible new suffering to the civilian population and further distance the already fragile prospects of peace. In this context, the information received from the United Nations Secretariat today on new military initiatives by Bosnian Government forces north-west of Sarajevo raises very serious concerns. At the same time, we issue a new appeal to the Bosnian Serbs to finally accept the peace plan of the Contact Group, which — let us not forget — has already been accepted by the Government of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. We also hope that the international community will intensify its efforts to foster the peace process.

Finally, I wish to affirm the urgent need that delivery of humanitarian aid to the Bosnian people, particularly in the safe areas, be fully resumed and continued without further disturbances. We consider the obstacles to these deliveries to be unacceptable, and we condemn the cynical recourse to such obstructive acts as a means of pressuring and intimidating the civilian population.

Today's resolution is meant to give more force and credibility to UNPROFOR's action, and can, we hope, make an important contribution to this end.

Mr. Al-Khussaiby (Oman): Today's deliberations on the situation in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina represent a new twist in the course of events in that region. The latest escalation of attacks by the Bosnian Serbs on the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR), ranging from sniping to detention and including the use of United Nations personnel as human shields, is clearly a blatant violation of international humanitarian law and norms. This new defiance demonstrated by the Bosnian Serbs is clearly yet another challenge to the will of the international community, whose credibility is thus tested once again.

We extend our condolences to all those countries that have lost citizens serving with UNPROFOR, and we reaffirm our position that these unprovoked attacks on UNPROFOR are unacceptable and cannot be tolerated. Oman fully supports all measures taken to prevent the recurrence of similar attacks.

Based on this understanding, we would like to reiterate our objection to the use of force as a means to settle differences. It is our opinion that dialogue and negotiation are not only a civilized mechanism, but the most suitable and acceptable way of reconciling differences, leading ultimately to a comprehensive political settlement.

We agree with the Secretary-General's opinion, as expressed in his latest report to the Security Council, on the necessity of reassessing the role of the United Nations in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina in a manner that will strengthen security for United Nations peace-keepers and enhance the protection of the civilian population within a mandate that is to be fully implemented.

In this context, we view the proposal to establish a rapid reaction force as an option that deserves our utmost attention. It is our hope that this additional capacity will be capable of discharging its duties and functions and provide additional security to UNPROFOR personnel under the command of the United Nations. We see no problem with the mandate itself. We know that the mandate is there; the main problem lies in its implementation.

On the question of the safe areas established in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina by the relevant Security Council resolutions, my delegation believes that United Nations protection should not be confined to those isolated and scattered pockets, the so-called safe areas, but that it must be extended to all territories of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. We fully share the views expressed by the Secretary-General in his report that the safe areas are not safe and that they need to be made safe. Therefore, it is our hope that the international community will be able to establish very clear modalities on how to protect the safe areas and their inhabitants, especially when they are under attack or siege or when humanitarian convoys are prevented from reaching them.

We welcome the provisions contained in the resolution that has just been adopted by the Council. At the same time, we would like to emphasize the right of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina to defend itself in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, and the need for this Member State to be consulted on all matters, in particular those pertaining to its territorial integrity. In view of the latest developments in the region and in the light of the Bosnian Serbs' continued rejection of the Contact Group peace plan, my delegation believes it is imperative for the Security Council to reconsider the question of lifting the imposed arms embargo.

In conclusion, my delegation, recognizing the vital role that this rapid reaction force will play, co-sponsored the draft resolution just adopted as Security Council resolution 998 (1995) and fully supports its objectives.

Mr. Nieto (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The resolution we have just adopted resulted from an arduous process of consultations and negotiations, in the course of which the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina has not improved. On the contrary, the parties have steadily distanced themselves from the options presented to them for a peaceful settlement of the conflict between them. We say this because it is clear that one of the parties in Bosnia has done more than to withdraw its consent for a United Nations presence; it has in fact gone much further, having described the United Nations as an enemy and having regarded the hostages it took as prisoners of war. We regret that long after the beginning of this deplorable episode we are still obliged to address it in paragraph 1 of tonight's resolution.

We are also concerned about recent reports of military preparations by the Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina which can be understood as tending towards renewed, and heightened, confrontation. One might also ask whether the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) has any real chance to fulfil its mandate if the fears aroused by those facts turn out to be justified.

We are grateful to the Member States and Secretariat staff who designed and formulated the option

set out in this resolution. They had to evaluate innumerable factors in deciding to create a rapid-reaction capability. We understand that this is a compromise between the requirements imposed by the realities of the conflict and the functional limits inherent in peace-keeping operations. We are confident that, after an evaluation of all the factors at issue, this decision was taken on the basis of the recent lessons learned by the Security Council in its experience with this conflict.

In our view, the first lesson is that the contradictions between the mandate of a peace-keeping force and what that force may be asked to do on the ground can be very costly. In most instances, such contradictions arise from the actions of the parties to the conflict, who ask or demand that peace-keepers take action beyond, or even contrary to, their agreed mandate, and who, if their demands are not met, direct their displeasure at what they call the Council's lack of effectiveness — causing damage to the image of this body.

Contradictions resulting from the conduct of the parties underlie every conflict, but the Security Council must not become involved in those contradictions, lest it lose its capacity to act and its credibility.

We fully agree with the Secretary-General's view, stated in his most recent report on UNPROFOR, that the process should be relaunched and intensified through new political initiatives, through which the work of the peace-keeping force could be affirmed. To attempt the opposite by seeking political results as a result of the activities of the peace-keeping forces would not reflect a correct perception of the mandate of those forces. That is why we attach particular importance to paragraph 2 of the resolution.

These recent experiences also indicate that UNPROFOR's action in fulfilment of its mandate must be based on the following premises.

The will of the parties for conciliation can come only from those parties, as reflected in paragraph 3 of the resolution.

We must take the greatest care to preserve a precise relationship between the mandate of our peace-keeping forces and the tasks entrusted to them. In that context we attach particular importance to the resolution's reference to UNPROFOR's impartiality.

Among the matters addressed by the resolution, my delegation attaches particular importance to the reference to safe areas. We recall that for some time the Secretary-General has been making proposals with reference to this concept, and has submitted two reports which we have not yet studied. Obviously, it is necessary to guarantee the protection of those areas and to guarantee their humanitarian needs. Here, the Council's concern is clearly expressed in operative paragraphs 6 and 7; we hope that their provisions will lead to concrete actions by the parties.

The other concept to which we want to refer relates to the use of force, especially through the rapid-reaction capability established by this resolution. We believe that the use of force should be restricted to self-defence and should be engaged in with great care, lest the delicate line between peace-keeping and peace-enforcement is crossed. The situation that would be created by crossing that line would be very difficult to reverse, and we hope that this will be taken into account by the contingents operating in the framework of the rapid-reaction capability.

It only remains for us to hope that, unlike what has taken place on other occasions, our capacity to act will not be overtaken by events.

The President: I shall now make a statement in my capacity as the representative of Germany.

The German Government is deeply concerned about the further deterioration of the overall situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The continued strangulation of Sarajevo can under no circumstances be justified. The latest news about the situation in and around Sarajevo gives rise to the fear that there could be a new round of intensified hostilities in the days to come. In this context, it continues to be important not to forget who is the victim and who is the aggressor in Bosnia. The United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR), a peace-keeping operation sustained by the international community at great cost and with a heavy toll in human lives, is confronted with an ever more aggressive environment and with hostile actions, in particular from the Bosnian Serb side.

The taking of UNPROFOR personnel as hostages is a contemptible act. We also condemn the continued strangulation of Sarajevo and the horrifying shelling of safe areas, which on a single day in Tuzla led to the death of 71 Bosnians, most of them young.

We support the continued presence of UNPROFOR in Bosnia. We support the plans by the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, France and the Netherlands to reinforce UNPROFOR with a rapid-reaction capability of up to 12,500 additional troops to assist the mission in carrying out more effectively its humanitarian mandate. That is why my delegation voted in favour of this text and joined in sponsoring it. It is a necessary step to ensure that the rapid-reaction forces can be brought to the theatre as soon as possible.

A stronger UNPROFOR will be in a better position to defend itself, to fulfil its mandate and to protect the suffering civilian population wherever possible. The parties have to agree without further delay to a cease-fire and a complete cessation of hostilities in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. However, a stronger UNPROFOR presence, and even a cessation of hostilities to be achieved as soon as possible, are not enough. What is needed is progress in the search for a political solution on the basis of the acceptance by the Bosnian Serb party of the Contact Group plan as a starting point. We reiterate our call to the Bosnian Serb party to abandon its course of intransigence and rejection, which will only prolong the suffering of the Bosnian Serb people as well. We are following with concern recent media reports that the Government and the army of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) continue to support the Bosnian Serb military. Military actions will not solve, but will only exacerbate, the conflict in Bosnia. What is needed is a political settlement. The continued presence of UNPROFOR and its contributions to the international community's efforts towards peace have been invaluable. We support the continued presence of UNPROFOR in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the firm belief that it will help to bring about the necessary conditions on the ground for genuine and serious political negotiations on a final settlement.

I now resume my functions as President of the Security Council.

There are no further speakers. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda. The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 3 a.m.

United Nations S/PV.3544

Security Council

Fifteth Year

Provisional

3544th Meeting

Friday, 16 June 1995, 11.35 a.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Graf zu Rantzau	(Germany)
Members:	Argentina	Ms. Cañas
	Botswana	Mr. Legwaila
	China	Mr. Qin Huasun
	Czech Republic	Mr. Rovensky
	France	Mr. Mérimée
	Honduras	Mr. Martínez Blanco
	Indonesia	Mr. Wibisono
	Italy	Mr. Menzione
	Nigeria	Mr. Ayewah
	Oman	Mr. Al-Khussaiby
	Russian Federation	Mr. Lavrov
	Rwanda	Mr. Ubalijoro
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David Hannay
	United States of America	Mrs. Albright

Agenda

The situation in Tajikistan and along the Tajik-Afghan border

Report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Tajikistan (S/1995/472 and Corr.1 and Add.1)

95-85543 (E)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one week of the date of publication*, to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Section, room C-178.

The meeting was called to order at 11.45 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Tajikistan and along the Tajik-Afghan border

Report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Tajikistan (S/1995/472 and Corr.1 and Add.1)

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Tajikistan, documents S/1995/472, S/1995/472/Corr.1 and S/1995/472/Add.1. Members of the Council also have before them document S/1995/486, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I shall first call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements before the voting.

Mr. Sidorov (Russian Federation) (*interpretation from Russian*): The Russian delegation attaches great importance to the adoption by the Security Council of the draft resolution on extending the mandate of the United Nations Mission of Observers in Tajikistan (UNMOT). The Mission's activities are an important factor stabilizing the situation in Tajikistan and on the Tajik-Afghan border, and are facilitating the successful implementation of the inter-Tajik agreements.

The Russian Federation believes that there is a need to further reinforce the Mission's capabilities, as this would enable it to carry out its allotted tasks more effectively. We in particular intend to return to the question of an increase in the number of UNMOT personnel.

The Russian Federation actively supports the Secretary-General's proposal to deploy, with the agreement of the Afghan authorities, a special UNMOT unit in northern Afghanistan to allow for more direct liaison with the Tajik opposition and to establish a base for investigating, on both sides of the Tajik-Afghan border, violations of the agreement on a temporary cease-fire and the cessation of other hostile acts of 17 September 1994.

I should like once again to draw members' attention to the repeated appeals the leadership of Tajikistan and by the States contributing troops to the Peace-keeping Force of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) for a fully-fledged United Nations operation to be deployed in Tajikistan. As is well known, this idea is supported by the Tajik opposition too.

We note that the draft resolution expresses satisfaction at the close liaison between UNMOT, the CIS Peace-keeping Forces and the border troops in Tajikistan. In the view of the Russian Federation, this close cooperation between the United Nations Mission and the CIS Peace-keeping force is an important factor for stabilizing the situation.

We are satisfied with the draft resolution submitted today for adoption by the Council, primarily because it directs the parties to search energetically for ways to achieve national reconciliation with a view to the fastest possible achievement of agreements on fundamental issues relating to Tajikistan's future political and constitutional order.

The Russian Federation, as one of the observer States at the inter-Tajik talks held under United Nations auspices, is making its contribution to moving the peace process forward. It is clear, however, that only unswerving and full implementation by the parties of all the obligations they have undertaken can create a climate conducive to dialogue on the fundamental constitutional and political issues. The continuing acts of provocation in some areas along the Tajik-Afghan border by militant opposition die-hards by no means helps establish such a climate.

The Russian Federation expects that the Security-Council's urgent appeals will be heeded by the Tajik parties and will provide a significant boost to their efforts to seek ways to achieve national reconciliation.

Mr. Menzione (Italy): My delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution extending the mandate of the United Nations Mission of Observers in Tajikistan (UNMOT) by six months, essentially because we take a positive view of the developments of recent weeks, despite the shadows still hanging over some areas of the inter-Tajik negotiating process.

The two primary factors allowing the mandate to be extended are firstly, the renewal of the agreement on a temporary cease-fire until 15 August 1995, and secondly, the decision by the Council of Heads of State of the Commonwealth of Independent States to extend the mandate of the Peace-keeping Force until the end of 1995.

Italy is confident that the truce may actually last longer than the currently agreed period. In our view, the necessary conditions for the UNMOT Mission are the existence of the cease-fire and the maintenance of a certain momentum in the negotiations. Whatever their highs and lows, the inter-Tajik negotiations as a whole — since the first round — have seemed to follow a rather positive trend. Now they are enriched by the proactive participation of neighbouring countries and of the two organizations most directly interested, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) and the Organization of the Islamic Conference.

The conditions that the parties had set at various for continuing the negotiations — regarding, for example, the agenda and the venue for the talks — appear to have become less stringent over the past two months. We should not underestimate the work done by the Secretary-General's Special Envoy in facilitating, at various junctures, a dialogue that has finally been consolidated, especially through the meeting in Kabul between President Rakhmonov and the leader of the opposition, Mr. Nuri.

While the fourth round of negotiations in Almaty did not produce the breakthrough that many had hoped for, it still scored strong points in favour of national reconciliation. Firstly, both sides seemed to have displayed a more flexible attitude, at least in the initial phase. Secondly, the session was characterized by broad participation, both governmental and intergovernmental, which showed how, in some cases, formulas that expand consensus are not necessarily an impediment to the momentum of negotiations. Thirdly, the political commitment of the parties, along with confidence-building and humanitarian measures, contributed to re-establishing what is, in our opinion, a very important factor: overcoming the psychological barriers between the leaders, who have shown that they can establish a concrete and direct dialogue.

That this was the case in the meeting between the President of the Tajik Republic and the leader of the Islamic Revival Movement of Tajikistan is demonstrated by the communiqué they issued, which stated that they had committed themselves to continuing search for a solution to the problems that determine the fate of Tajikistan.

My delegation takes note of this commitment, which is the best response to the appeal to the parties by the Head of State of the Russian Federation and by all the Central Asian republics, which emphasized that, while it is clear that the principal responsibility lies with the Tajik parties themselves, the burden of mutual mistrust and enmity complicates efforts to achieve real national reconciliation.

In Kabul in mid-April and in Almaty in mid-May, steps were indeed taken in this direction. The international community, starting with the United Nations, is committed to democratic rehabilitation in Tajikistan. A significant contribution can be made by the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), the regional organization that in our opinion has a particular vocation to the promote democratic institutions and human rights. The excellent work being performed by the OSCE Mission in Dushanbe and the participation of the OSCE in the fourth round of negotiations in Almaty are further signs of this commitment.

Mr. Wibisono (Indonesia): Let me begin by conveying the Indonesian delegation's sincere appreciation to you, Mr. President, for preparing the draft resolution on Tajikistan now before the Council for adoption. I should like also to convey our gratitude to the Secretary-General for his informative report on the present situation in Tajikistan. We also wish to thank Ambassador Ramiro Píriz-Ballón, the Secretary-General's Special Envoy to Tajikistan, for his perseverance in his endeavours to promote the attainment of a peaceful settlement to the conflict in Tajikistan.

During the course of our consultations, my delegation has made its position clear: the resolution of the conflict in Tajikistan can best be achieved through a peace process leading towards national reconciliation, within a framework that preserves the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Tajikistan. We note with

appreciation that this process has reached a stage at which the parties have started in-depth discussions on fundamental institutional issues and on the consolidation of Tajikistan's statehood, and have confirmed their readiness to search for practical solutions.

With particular reference to the joint statement of May 1995 by the President of Tajikistan and the Chairman of the Islamic Revival Movement of Tajikistan, we are very much encouraged by the fact that both sides have confirmed their willingness to solve the inter-Tajik conflict through political means, to repatriate all refugees to their places of origin, to stabilize the political situation in Tajikistan fully and to extend the agreement on a temporary cease-fire and cessation of hostilities — the Tehran Agreement of 17 September 1994 — for another three months, until 26 August 1995. Moreover, other practical steps aimed at strengthening confidence-building measures have also been agreed by both sides.

My delegation is therefore pleased to note that all these understandings and agreements arrived at by the two Tajik sides have been incorporated into the draft resolution and welcomed by the Council as measures to further the achievement of national reconciliation in Tajikistan.

The convening of the fourth round of inter-Tajik talks on national reconciliation in Almaty under United Nations auspices, was in our view a most encouraging development. At that round of talks, the two Tajik sides conducted, for the first time, an in-depth discussion of fundamental institutional and political issues. My delegation considers that approach to be the best way towards achieving a comprehensive political settlement.

In this context, we draw particular attention to the call upon the parties to agree to the early convening of a further round of inter-Tajik talks with a view to resolving the remaining issues and to implement without delay all confidence-building measures agreed to by them — *inter alia*, on the exchange of detainees and prisoners of war and on intensification of the efforts to ensure the voluntary return, in dignity and safety, of all refugees and displaced persons to their homes.

We most certainly encourage the continuation of direct political dialogue, which could lead towards genuine national reconciliation and to the restoration of peace in the country.

From the outset Indonesia has believed that the primary responsibility for resolving the conflict rests primarily with the Tajik parties themselves; all that the international community can do is provide only necessary assistance towards that end, it cannot impose a solution. In this regard, the presence of the United Nations Mission of Observers in Tajikistan (UNMOT) in the country has had a positive impact and has indeed contributed as a stabilizing factor. Its close contacts with the parties, as well as its close liaison with the Peace-keeping Force of the Commonwealth of Independent States, the border forces and the Mission of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, has been instrumental in containing the intensity of conflict and preventing it from spreading.

It is in this light that my delegation supports the recommendation of the Secretary-General to extend the mandate of UNMOT for another six months, until 16 December 1995. It is our sincere hope that this will allow the parties to keep up their commitment to an effective cease-fire, national reconciliation and the promotion of democracy. Of course, it is imperative that the parties should continue to cooperate with UNMOT and to ensure the safety and freedom of movement of United Nations personnel.

Notwithstanding these positive developments, my delegation is particularly concerned to note from the report that the situation on the border between Tajikistan and Afghanistan remains tense and that the deepening economic crisis continues to have a negative impact on the efforts to achieve political stability. In this regard, we underline the urgency of ceasing all hostile acts and call on States and others concerned to discourage activities that would pose a hindrance to the peace process in Tajikistan as a whole. In this context, we look forward to the report of the Secretary-General on the discussions to be conducted with the Afghan authorities on the possible deployment of a small United Nations team in northern Afghanistan.

In conclusion, it is the hope of the Indonesian delegation that the draft resolution that we are about to adopt will create a climate conducive to accelerating the peace process towards genuine national reconciliation and the restoration of peace in Tajikistan.

In light of these considerations, my delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution.

Mr. Martínez Blanco (Honduras) (*interpretation from Spanish*): My delegation wishes to express its gratitude to the Secretary-General for his report dated 10

June 1995 on the situation in Tajikistan and the activities carried out by the United Nations Mission of Observers in Tajikistan (UNMOT).

My delegation believes that the conflict in Tajikistan must be resolved through peaceful means. Consequently, we welcomed the results of the fourth round of talks between the parties, held in Almaty from 22 May to 1 June this year, where, while the parties were unable to reach mutually acceptable solutions in the political and institutional sphere, they did achieve important agreements on the exchange of detainees and prisoners of war and on the voluntary return of refugees.

We also welcome the decision taken in Kabul on 19 May by the President of the Republic of Tajikistan and the leader of the Islamic Revival Movement to extend the Tehran Agreement on a cease-fire until 26 August this year.

My delegation believes that direct dialogue between the Tajik parties is essential for reaching a comprehensive political settlement of the conflict. We therefore urge the parties to continue their dialogue so that they can overcome the outstanding problems and make substantive progress on institutional issues in order to consolidate Tajikistan's statehood. We also urge them to cooperate fully with UNMOT, the Secretary-General's Special Envoy, the Commonwealth of Independent States Peace-keeping Force, the Russian border forces and the Mission to Tajikistan of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe.

With regard to confidence-building measures, we believe that the voluntary return of refugees is an important element for establishing the necessary favourable climate for national reconciliation. We are therefore pleased to see that the Government of Tajikistan has committed itself to assisting the return and reintegration of refugees and displaced persons in dignity and safety. In this context, it is important for international organizations and States to provide the refugees and the Joint Commission with the necessary financial and material support.

Finally, we wish to express our appreciation to the Secretary-General, his Special Envoy and the regional organizations that have fostered the dialogue between the Tajik parties for their renewed efforts for peace in Tajikistan. My delegation supports the Secretary-General's recommendation to extend UNMOT's mandate for an additional period until 16 December 1995, on condition that the parties keep up their commitments to an effective cease-fire, national reconciliation and the promotion of democracy. We also support his recommendation to deploy a group of observers in northern Afghanistan, in the way he suggests. My delegation will therefore vote in favour of the draft resolution before the Council.

Mr. Qin Huasun (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): The Chinese delegation has been following developments in Tajikistan very closely, including Tajikistan's political settlement process. In our view, a settlement to the conflict in Tajikistan depends principally on the efforts by the parties in Tajikistan and on the effective implementation by the United Nations Mission of Observers in Tajikistan (UNMOT) of the mandate entrusted to it by the Security Council; that effective implementation also depends on the political will of the parties concerned towards a settlement to the conflict, and on what progress is actually made towards a political settlement.

In this connection, we have noted that President Rakhmonov of Tajikistan and the Chairman of the Islamic Revival Movement of Tajikistan, Mr. Nuri, held a bilateral meeting in mid May and that the two sides held a fourth round of talks on national reconciliation at Almaty from 22 May to 1 June 1995; during these talks, they conducted, for the first time, an in-depth discussion of fundamental institutional issues and on consolidating Tajikistan's statehood, and they reached agreements and adopted a joint statement on extending the cease-fire, exchanging prisoners of war and repatriating refugees. The Chinese delegation welcomes these positive developments.

We sincerely hope that the parties, in order to accelerate the process of political settlement in Tajikistan, will implement in earnest the agreements reached in the fourth round of inter-Tajik talks; will continue to observe strictly and implement fully the Tehran Agreement, particularly the provisions for a cease-fire; will strengthen the supervisory and investigatory role of the Joint Commission in this connection; and will cooperate fully with UNMOT so as to facilitate stability in Tajikistan. We hope also that the parties will take effective measures to ease tensions along the Tajik-Afghan border.

There is a Chinese saying that peace brings benefits to both sides while fighting hurts them both. The key to a fundamental solution to the Tajik conflict lies in the achievement of broad-based national reconciliation, and the only way to achieve national reconciliation is to give up using military means and seek a solution that both can

accept through dialogue and negotiation. To this end, we urge President Rakhmonov and Mr. Nuri to continue their direct dialogue in order to build mutual confidence further, so advancing the process of achieving a comprehensive political settlement.

UNMOT has played a positive role in containing the conflict by assisting in the implementation of the cease-fire and in building mutual confidence. It has also maintained good relations with the Peace-keeping Force of the Commonwealth of Independent States. We hope that UNMOT's continued presence will help advance further the process of political settlement in Tajikistan.

The draft resolution exactly reflects the laudable desire of the international community to provide the parties in Tajikistan with further assistance in order to achieve a lasting peace at an early date. The Chinese delegation will therefore vote in favour of the draft resolution.

Mr. Legwaila (Botswana): We have read with interest the Secretary-General's report on the situation in Tajikistan. It is encouraging to note that, after many months of prevarications, the parties have finally been able to break the deadlock and meet for the fourth round of the inter-Tajik talks on national reconciliation. This is a welcome development, even though the two sides could not reach agreement on a comprehensive political settlement. It is worth noting that the talks were held in an atmosphere of mutual respect and trust. My delegation hopes that the agreements reached at Almaty on the release of political prisoners and a safe return of refugees to their homes will pave the way for an overall settlement to the crisis in Tajikistan and bring about national reconciliation.

There is no doubt that the presence of the United Nations Mission of Observers in Tajikistan (UNMOT) has served as a stabilizing factor and has provided an enabling environment for a peaceful settlement to the conflict. It is for this reason that my delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution before us.

I wish, however, to emphasize the importance we attach to operative paragraph 2, which links the continued presence of UNMOT in Tajikistan to a commitment by both parties to an effective cease-fire, to national reconciliation and to the promotion of democracy. We are seriously concerned that, after four rounds of talks, no progress has been achieved on institutional matters. It is our hope that the parties will make full use of the presence of UNMOT in their country over the next six months and will cooperate with the Secretary-General's Special Envoy in his endeavour to promote a peaceful settlement to the conflict in Tajikistan.

The international community has demonstrated its readiness to assist the people of Tajikistan. However, the international community can help only where the parties are in all seriousness ready and willing to resolve their differences. The ultimate responsibility for a peaceful settlement and national reconciliation lies with no one else but the people of Tajikistan.

We have noted that an agreement has been reached to extend the cease-fire by three months. Our preference would have been for an indefinite extension.

We appeal to the two parties to adhere strictly to the spirit and letter of the cease-fire. The resumption and intensification of hostilities during the month of April, in violation of the cease-fire agreement, and the resulting heavy casualties have not helped the peace process. We hope there will be no repetition.

In conclusion, my delegation wishes to pay a special tribute to the positive and facilitative role played by the Russian Federation and other countries in the region — and by the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe — and to their efforts to bring about reconciliation between the two parties in conflict in Tajikistan. I should also like to extend my delegation's sincere appreciation to Ambassador Píriz-Ballón, the Secretary-General's Special Envoy, for his untiring efforts in the search for peace in Tajikistan.

Mr. Al-Khussaiby (Oman): At the outset, allow me, Sir, to extend, on behalf of the delegation of Oman, our sincere thanks to the Secretary-General for his lucid report on the situation in Tajikistan. We take this opportunity to extend our support to him and to his Special Envoy, Mr. Píriz-Ballón, for the role they are playing in trying to help the Tajik parties achieve national reconciliation and to bring about a peaceful end to their conflict.

While we welcome the positive results arising from the Kabul meeting between the President of Tajikistan, Mr. Emomali Rakhmonov, and the leader of the Tajik opposition, Mr. Abdullo Nuri, and the convening of a fourth round of talks in Almaty from 22 May to 1 June 1995, we particularly welcome the decision taken by parties to extend the agreement on a temporary cease-fire and cessation of other hostile acts.

My Government concurs with the views expressed by the Secretary-General in his report to the effect that, despite the efforts exerted in this regard, the parties are still some way away from reaching a comprehensive settlement or addressing the substantive political issues, even though 14 months have passed since the first round of talks was convened.

We therefore commend the Secretary-General's initiative in calling on the two parties to spare no time in making progress towards national reconciliation in Tajikistan through direct talks and candid cooperation. This is the only means to build mutual confidence between the parties, thus paving the way for the achievement of a comprehensive political solution to the crisis, given that the Tajik parties themselves must assume the responsibility for resolving the conflict and that the United Nations can play only a conciliatory and facilitating role in assisting them to achieve practical solutions. We call upon all parties to refrain from any act that could cause a deterioration of the situation, and we stress the need to respect international borders.

There is no doubt that the Joint Commission established to monitor and verify violations of the cease-fire agreement has been functioning in a way that is not up to our expectations and not in accordance with the mandate assigned it by the protocol to the Tehran Agreement. We hope that the parties will give the Commission the required attention and will cooperate with it in a manner that will enable it to discharge its tasks more effectively.

We join the consensus prevailing among the members of the Security Council, who share the opinion today that there is a need to extend the mandate of the United Nations Mission of Observers in Tajikistan (UNMOT), as recommended by the Secretary-General, and we appreciate the positive role the Mission has been playing. My delegation will therefore vote in favour of the draft resolution before the Council.

The President: I shall now put to the vote the draft resolution contained in document S/1995/486.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Argentina, Botswana, China, Czech Republic, France, Germany, Honduras, Indonesia, Italy, Nigeria, Oman, Russian Federation, Rwanda, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 999 (1995).

I shall now call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mrs. Albright (United States of America): The United States was pleased to support this resolution extending the mandate of the United Nations Mission of Observers in Tajikistan (UNMOT). In many ways, this Mission demonstrates the flexibility of United Nations peace-keeping and its continued usefulness in conflicts around the world. With a small but influential presence, the United Nations has helped the parties to maintain an effective cease-fire and, through that, lay the groundwork for political reconciliation. We pay special tribute to the Secretary-General's Special Envoy, Ambassador Píriz-Ballón.

As the Secretary-General has reported, both parties to the conflict have recognized the instrumental role UNMOT has played in containing the conflict. But the limited cease-fire extensions and chronic incidents along the Tajik-Afghan border indicate that there is still much to be done to bring peace and prosperity to Tajikistan.

While the Security Council has, through this resolution, extended UNMOT's mandate until December of this year, the resolution firmly and unambiguously links that mandate to the existence of an effective cease-fire and other conditions. UNMOT cannot function without a cease-fire: the parties must lay down their arms or the Council may be forced to take a decision to withdraw the Mission. But a cease-fire is just a beginning; the parties must move towards national reconciliation based on democratic principles. The parties have taken a first step in discussing, in Almaty, fundamental political and institutional questions.

Although progress towards national reconciliation still has far to go, the Secretary-General's report cites a few instances of a positive nature, which I would like to recall. President Rakhmonov met for the first time with the Chairman of the Islamic Revival Movement of Tajikistan, Abdullo Nuri, in Kabul. They were able to extend the cease-fire and agree to future meetings, raising expectations for the Almaty talks. The negotiators in Almaty were able to agree to implement confidence-building mechanisms such as the exchange of prisoners and detainees. On this point, I would like to stress the necessity of allowing the International

Committee of the Red Cross and the Joint Commission full access to places where prisoners and detainees are being held.

In Almaty, the parties began to discuss mechanisms for a political settlement. Unfortunately, they were unable to reach agreement on the fundamental questions. We encourage the parties to redouble their efforts. The time has come for the parties to work towards the outline of a political accord. We look forward to an announcement of the date, place and venue of the next round of talks to build on the momentum of Kabul and Almaty. The United Nations, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe and countries of the region stand ready to support and help implement an agreement. But the international community cannot make peace or move towards national reconciliation; it is the parties themselves who must take this responsibility, and take it soon.

The President: I shall now make a statement in my capacity as the representative of Germany.

My Government welcomes the adoption of resolution 999 (1995) extending the mandate of the United Nations Mission of Observers in Tajikistan (UNMOT) for a period of up to six months. UNMOT is a small mission, but one to which we attach great importance. I would like to take this opportunity to thank its members for doing an excellent job under difficult conditions.

UNMOT, as the Secretary-General notes in his report, plays a key role in containing the conflict in Tajikistan. It does so by monitoring the cease-fire. At the same time, it provides vital support for the peacemaking efforts of the Secretary-General's Special Envoy, Ambassador Píriz-Ballón.

My delegation welcomes the fact that, after a long period of stagnation, dialogue between the Tajik parties has finally resumed. We would like to thank the Special Envoy, Ambassador Píriz-Ballón, as well as the observer countries for their contribution to the results achieved in the recent meetings at Kabul and Almaty. These results, though modest, represent badly needed progress. The parties must understand that the United Nations role, and UNMOT's presence in particular, depend not only on a cease-fire but also on a viable political process aimed at national reconciliation and the promotion of democracy.

Germany remains concerned at the continued fighting on the Tajik-Afghan border. As the Secretary-General points out, this fighting involves the parties as well as Russian border forces. Against this background, we have taken careful note of the recent statement of the Foreign Ministry of the Russian Federation recognizing the validity of the cease-fire agreement for the Russian forces in Tajikistan.

We believe that a United Nations presence in northern Afghanistan, as requested by both parties, could contribute to a lessening of tensions in the border area. Clearly, the attitude of the relevant Afghan authorities on this issue will be crucial. We hope that the Secretary-General will be able to persuade them of the utility of such a presence.

Reporting to the Council in August 1993, the Secretary-General observed that the situation in Tajikistan

> "contains the seeds of a major threat to peace and security for Central Asia and beyond." (*S/26311, para. 35*)

My Government believes that that assessment remains true. That is why we encourage the Secretary-General to intensify his efforts with regard to a political settlement. My Government is ready to lend its full support to these efforts.

I now resume my functions as President of the Security Council.

There are no further speakers. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda. The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 12.30 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.3545

Security Council

Fifteth Year

Provisional

3545th Meeting

Friday, 16 June 1995, 5.45 p.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Graf zu Rantzau	(Germany)
Members:	Argentina	Ms. Cañas
	Botswana	Mr. Motswagae
	China	Mr. Qin Huasun
	Czech Republic	Mr. Rovensky
	France	Mr. Ladsous
	Honduras	Mr. Martínez Blanco
	Indonesia	Mr. Wibisono
	Italy	Mr. Ferrarin
	Nigeria	Mr. Ayewah
	Oman	Mr. Al-Sameen
	Russian Federation	Mr. Sidorov
	Rwanda	Mr. Ubalijoro
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Plumbly
	United States of America	Mrs. Albright

Agenda

The situation in Croatia

Report of the Secretary-General submitted pursuant to Security Council resolution 994 (1995) (S/1995/467)

95-85549 (E)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one week of the date of publication*, to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Section, room C-178.

The meeting was called to order at 5.55 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Croatia

Report of the Secretary-General submitted pursuant to Security Council resolution 994 (1995) (S/1995/467)

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Croatia in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Drobnjak (Croatia) took a place at the Council table.

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General submitted pursuant to Security Council resolution 994 (1995), document S/1995/467.

Following consultations among the members of the Security Council, I have been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:

"The Security Council has considered the report of the Secretary-General of 9 June 1995 (S/1995/467) submitted pursuant to its resolution 994 (1995) of 17 May 1995. It is concerned at the situation described therein, and at the continuing failure of the parties to cooperate satisfactorily with UNCRO and to comply fully with the demands of the Council. It condemns in particular the continuation of offensive actions and the intimidation of UNCRO personnel in violation of its resolution 994 (1995).

"The Security Council looks to the parties to cooperate fully and unconditionally with UNCRO in the performance of its mandate and to ensure the safety, security and freedom of movement of its personnel. The Council demands that they fulfil their commitment under the cease-fire agreement of 29 March 1994, in particular in respect of the withdrawal of all forces and heavy weapons from the zones of separation, and fully implement the 2 December 1994 agreement on economic confidence-building measures. It calls upon the parties, and in particular the Government of Croatia, to cease all military action in and around Sector South. It also calls upon all parties to respect fully the international border between the Republic of Croatia and the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and to stop any action which extends the conflict across this border, since this is in violation of the Council's resolutions. It reiterates its warning that in the event of failure to comply with the demand in its resolution 994 (1995) that the parties refrain from taking any further military measures or actions that could lead to the escalation of the situation, it will consider further steps needed to ensure such compliance.

"The Security Council requests the Committee established under resolution 724 (1991) of 15 December 1991 to continue to investigate, in accordance with its mandate, reports of violations of resolution 713 (1991) of 25 September 1991.

"The Security Council welcomes the agreement of the Government of Croatia to a continued UNCRO presence in the area of Western Slavonia known as Sector West for the purposes of implementing its mandate, in particular in respect of human rights, to which it continues to attach great importance. It endorses the Secretary-General's view as to the necessity for reconciliation and confidence-building in that Sector. It stresses the importance it attaches to full respect for the human rights of the Serb population there. It encourages the Secretary-General to continue his coordination with the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights as well as other international organizations and agencies in this regard.

"The Security Council notes the Secretary-General's judgement that completion of the redeployment of United Nations peace-keeping

personnel in the Republic of Croatia by 30 June 1995 envisaged in its resolution 982 (1995) of 31 March 1995 is no longer possible. It requests the Secretary-General to proceed as expeditiously as possible with this redeployment with the aim of fulfilling all UNCRO's tasks under its mandate. It demands that the parties cooperate with UNCRO's efforts to implement fully its mandate.

"The Security Council notes the fact that both parties have stated their desire that the peace-keeping mission should continue, and are seeking UNCRO's assistance. It welcomes the Secretary-General's intention to monitor closely their cooperation with UNCRO and their compliance with the cease-fire agreement of 29 March 1994, and requests him to keep the Council fully informed. Such cooperation and compliance are essential for the implementation of UNCRO's mandate and for progress towards a negotiated settlement respecting fully the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Croatia and which guarantees the security and rights of all communities.

"The Security Council could not countenance moves by the local Serb authorities in the Republic of Croatia and the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina to establish a union between them, since this would be inconsistent with the Council's commitment to the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Croatia and the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

"The Security Council stresses that there can be no military solution to the conflict and calls upon the parties to reaffirm their commitment to a peaceful resolution of their differences.

"The Security Council notes with distress the loss of life and casualties which have been suffered by UNCRO and extends its condolences to the families of the bereaved.

"The Security Council will remain seized of the matter."

This statement will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/1995/PRST/30.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 6 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.3546

Security Council

Fiftieth Year

Provisional

3546th Meeting
Wednesday, 21 June 1995, 10 a.m.
New York

President:	Mr. Graf zu Rantzau	(Germany)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Cardenas
	Botswana	Mr. Legwaila
	China	Mr. Qin Huasun
	Czech Republic	Mr. Kovanda
	France	Mr. Mérimée
	Honduras	Mr. Martínez Blanco
	Indonesia	Mr. Wisnumurti
	Italy	Mr. Fulci
	Nigeria	Mr. Ayewah
	Oman	Mr. Al-Khussaiby
	Russian Federation	Mr. Lavrov
	Rwanda	Mr. Bakuramutsa
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Plumbly
	United States of America	Mr. Gnehm

Agenda

Election of a member of the International Court of Justice
(S/1995/448, S/1995/449, S/1995/450 and S/1995/490 and Add.1)

95-85561 (E)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one week of the date of publication*, to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Section, room C-178.

The meeting was called to order at 10.40 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Election of a member of the International Court of Justice (S/1995/448, S/1995/449, S/1995/450 and S/1995/490 and Add.1)

The President: I should like to recall that at its 3507th meeting, on 9 March 1995, the Security Council adopted resolution 979 (1995), in which it decided that the election to fill the vacancy in the International Court of Justice should take place on 21 June 1995 at a meeting of the Security Council and at a meeting of the General Assembly at its forty-ninth session.

This morning the Security Council and the General Assembly will proceed independently with the election, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Statute of the Court, for the purpose of filling this vacancy. The list of candidates nominated by national groups and received by the Secretary-General as of 31 May 1995, the deadline for receipt of nominations, is contained in document S/1995/449. Documents S/1995/490 and Add.1 contain the nominations by national groups received by the Secretary-General after 31 May 1995. Document S/1995/450 contains the curricula vitae of the nominated candidates.

The Security Council also has before it a memorandum by the Secretary-General, contained in document S/1995/448, describing the present composition of the Court and setting out the procedure to be followed in the conduct of the election.

I should like to remind the Council that under Article 10, paragraph 1, of the Statute of the International Court of Justice,

> "Those candidates who obtain an absolute majority of votes in the General Assembly and in the Security Council shall be considered as elected."

The required majority in the Security Council is eight votes.

Article 15 of the Statute of the Court provides that

> "A member of the Court elected to replace a member whose term of office has not expired shall hold office for the remainder of his predecessor's term."

Accordingly, the member elected to fill the remainder of the term left vacant by the death of Judge Roberto Ago will serve until 5 February 1997.

The voting will be by secret ballot. When we proceed to the vote, members of the Council will receive a ballot paper containing the names of the candidates. No withdrawal will be accepted once the ballot papers have been distributed. However, it would be possible to withdraw between ballots. Members of the Council will be requested to place an "X" next to the name of the candidate for whom they wish to vote. Votes may be cast only for a candidate whose name appears on the ballot paper, and each elector may vote for only one candidate, otherwise the ballot will be considered invalid. When a candidate has obtained the required majority, I shall notify the President of the General Assembly of the name of that candidate, and I shall request the Council to remain in session pending the receipt from the President of the General Assembly of the result of the voting in the Assembly.

I shall now draw lots to select two delegations to serve as tellers.

* * *

The President: Oman and the Russian Federation have been drawn. I therefore request each of them to appoint one member of their respective delegations to serve as teller.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Al-Harthy (Oman) and Mr. Karev (Russian Federation) acted as tellers.

The President: May I take it that the Council is now ready to proceed with the election to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Judge Roberto Ago?

It is so decided.

The President: I would ask the Conference Officer to distribute the ballot papers.

Members of the Council should place an "X" in the box next to the name of the candidate for whom they wish to vote.

* * *

The President: I take it that all the members of the Council have now voted and I request the Conference Officer to collect the ballot papers.

All the ballot papers have been collected. I should like to remind the Council that, as we agreed during our consultations, the ballots will not be counted until it has been verified that the ballot papers in the General Assembly have been collected. The Council will remain in session pending the receipt of that information.

* * *

The President: I have now been informed that the ballot papers have been collected in the General Assembly. The counting of the ballots in the Security Council will now begin. The tellers will now count the ballots. As agreed in our consultations, there will be two independent countings of the ballots, one by each teller.

* * *

The President: The result of the voting is as follows:

Number of ballot papers:	15
Number of invalid ballots:	0
Number of valid ballots:	15
Required majority:	8
Number of votes obtained:	
Mr. Luigi Ferrari Bravo (Italy)	6
Mr. Pieter Hendrik Kooijmans (Netherlands)	5
Mr. Mehmet Güney (Turkey)	2
Mr. Santiago Torres Bernárdez (Spain)	2

The President: As no candidate has received the absolute majority, the Security Council will now proceed to a second ballot, in accordance with rule 61 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

I would ask the Conference Officer to distribute the ballot papers.

Members of the Council should place an "X" against the name of the candidate for whom they wish to vote.

* * *

The President: I take it that all the members of the Council have now voted, and I request the Conference Officer to collect the ballot papers.

All the ballot papers have been collected. The tellers will now count the ballots.

* * *

The President: The result of the voting is as follows:

Number of ballot papers:	15
Number of invalid ballots:	0
Number of valid ballots:	15
Required majority:	8
Number of votes obtained:	
Mr. Pieter Hendrik Kooijmans (Netherlands)	7
Mr. Luigi Ferrari Bravo (Italy)	6
Mr. Santiago Torres Bernárdez (Spain)	2
Mr. Mehmet Güney (Turkey)	0

The President: As no candidate obtained the required majority, the Council will proceed to a third vote, in accordance with rule 61 of the provisional rules of procedure.

I shall ask the Conference Officer to distribute the ballot papers.

Members of the Council should place an "X" against the name of the candidate for whom they wish to vote.

* * *

The President: I take it that all the members of the Council have now voted, and I ask the Conference Officer to collect the ballot papers.

All the ballot papers have been collected. The tellers will now count the ballots.

* * *

The President: The result of the voting is as follows:

Number of ballot papers:	15
Number of invalid ballots:	0
Number of valid ballots:	15
Required majority:	8
Number of votes obtained:	
Mr. Luigi Ferrari Bravo (Italy)	7
Mr. Pieter Hendrik Kooijmans (Netherlands)	6
Mr. Santiago Torres Bernárdez (Spain)	2

The President: As no candidate has received the absolute majority, the Security Council will now proceed to a fourth ballot, in accordance with rule 61 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

I would ask the Conference Officer to distribute the ballot papers.

Members of the Council should place an "X" against the name of the candidate for whom they wish to vote.

* * *

The President: I take it that all the members of the Council have now voted, and I ask the Conference Officer to collect the ballot papers.

All the ballot papers have been collected. The tellers will now count the ballots.

* * *

The President: The result of the voting is as follows:

Number of ballot papers:	15
Number of invalid ballots:	0
Number of valid ballots:	15
Required majority:	8
Number of votes obtained:	
Mr. Luigi Ferrari Bravo (Italy)	8
Mr. Pieter Hendrik Kooijmans (Netherlands)	5
Mr. Santiago Torres Bernárdez (Spain)	2

The President: Mr. Ferrari Bravo has accordingly received the required majority of votes in the Security Council.

I shall communicate the result of the vote to the President of the General Assembly in writing. I request the Council to remain in session while we wait for the President of the General Assembly to inform the Council of the results of the voting in the Assembly.

* * *

The President: I should like to inform the members of the Council that I have just received from the President of the General Assembly the following letter:

> "I have the honour to inform you that at the 104th plenary meeting of the General Assembly, held today for the purpose of electing one member of the International Court of Justice, the following candidate obtained an absolute majority of the votes in the General Assembly: Mr. Luigi Ferrari Bravo."

As the Security Council and the General Assembly have agreed on the same candidate, the distinguished jurist Mr. Luigi Ferrari Bravo of Italy has been elected a member of the International Court of Justice for a term of office expiring on 5 February 1997.

I should like to congratulate him and to wish him every success in the high office to which he has been elected. I should also like to thank the tellers for their assistance.

The Security Council has thus concluded its business for this meeting.

The meeting rose at 12.55 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.3547

Security Council

Fiftieth Year

Provisional

3547th Meeting

Friday, 23 June 1995, 1.10 p.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Graf zu Rantzau	(Germany)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Cardenas
	Botswana	Mr. Outlule
	China	Mr. Qin Huasun
	Czech Republic	Mr. Rovensky
	France	Mr. Ladsous
	Honduras	Mr. Martínez Blanco
	Indonesia	Mr. Prayitno
	Italy	Mr. Ferrarin
	Nigeria	Mr. Ayewah
	Oman	Mr. Al-Sameen
	Russian Federation	Mr. Sidorov
	Rwanda	Mr. Ubalijoro
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Gomersall
	United States of America	Mr. Inderfurth

Agenda

The situation in Cyprus

Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Operation in Cyprus (S/1995/488 and Add.1)

95-85567 (E)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one week of the date of publication*, to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Section, room C-178.

The meeting was called to order at 1.15 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Cyprus

Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Operation in Cyprus (S/1995/488 and Add.1)

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Operation in Cyprus, documents S/1995/488 and Add.1.

Members of the Council also have before them document S/1995/503, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's consultations.

It is my understanding that the Security Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution (S/1995/503) before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Argentina, Botswana, China, Czech Republic, France, Germany, Honduras, Indonesia, Italy, Nigeria, Oman, Russian Federation, Rwanda, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 1000 (1995).

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 1.20 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.3548

Security Council

Fiftieth Year

Provisional

3548th Meeting

Friday, 23 June 1995, 1.20 p.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Graf zu Rantzau	(Germany)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Cardenas
	Botswana	Mr. Outlule
	China	Mr. Qin Huasun
	Czech Republic	Mr. Rovensky
	France	Mr. Ladsous
	Honduras	Mr. Martínez Blanco
	Indonesia	Mr. Prayitno
	Italy	Mr. Ferrarin
	Nigeria	Mr. Ayewah
	Oman	Mr. Al-Sameen
	Russian Federation	Mr. Sidorov
	Rwanda	Mr. Ubalijoro
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Gomersall
	United States of America	Mr. Inderfurth

Agenda

The situation in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina

95-85573 (E)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one week of the date of publication*, to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Section, room C-178.

The meeting was called to order at 1.20 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Bosnia and Herzegovina in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Mizić (Bosnia and Herzegovina) took a place at the Council table.

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Following consultations among members of the Security Council, I have been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:

"The Security Council reiterates its condemnation of interference with humanitarian supplies and the freedom of movement of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) by all parties within the territory of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In this context it is deeply concerned by the blockading by Bosnian Government forces of UNPROFOR personnel in the Visoko, Gorazde, Gorni Vakuf and Kladanj areas, which included on 20 June 1995 placing mines outside the UNPROFOR camp in Visoko. The Council is also deeply concerned at the deterioration in the situation in and around Sarajevo, the obstruction by the Bosnian Serb party of freedom of movement and utilities to the city and the continued obstruction of the normal operation of Sarajevo airport.

"The Security Council stresses that all such actions are unacceptable and demands that all parties fully respect the safety and security of UNPROFOR personnel and ensure their complete freedom of movement to enable UNPROFOR to carry out its mandate in accordance with the Council's resolutions.

"The Security Council calls upon the parties to enter into negotiations as provided for in its resolution 998 (1995) of 16 June 1995 and to agree without further delay to a cease-fire and a complete cessation of hostilities in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Council emphasizes that there can be no military solution to the conflict in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina; it stresses the importance it attaches to the vigorous pursuit of a political settlement, and reiterates its demand that the Bosnian Serb party accept the Contact Group peace plan as a starting point."

This statement will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/PRST/1995/31.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda. The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 1.25 p.m.